Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-222
Monday
18 November 1991

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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Kapllani Meets With Bosnian Presidency's Abdic *[ATA]* 1
Turkish Chief of General Staff Arrives in Tirana *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Bufi Confers With Alia Before Visit to U.S. *[ATA]* 1
Bufi Departs, Seeks Humanitarian Aid *[ATA]* 1
Council of Ministers Explains Papers Nonpublication *[ATA]* 2
Republican Party Rejects All-Albanian Assembly *[ATA]* 2

BULGARIA

Moscow Mayor Delivers Gorbachev Message to Zhelev *[Sofia Radio]* 3
Ukraine Electricity Contract Terms Finalized *[BTA]* 3
Kostov Signs Agreement With U.S. on Farming Aid *[BTA]* 3
Joint Economic Panel With Japan To Resume Work *[BTA]* 3
Greek Government Welcomes Zhelev Dialogue Proposal *[BTA]* 4
Foreign Minister Ganev Gives First TV Interview *[BTA]* 4
New Interior Minister Statkov Discusses Plans *[Sofia TRUD 12 Nov]* 4
Changes in Defense Ministry, Army Leaders Planned *[Sofia Radio]* 5
BSP Leader Does Not Expect Property Confiscation *[BTA]* 5
Agrarian Party Supports Democratic Forces Candidate *[BTA]* 6
Green Party To Join Democratic Center Coalition *[24 CHASA 11 Nov]* 6
Sufficient Fuel Supply Reported for Motorists *[24 CHASA 12 Nov]* 6
Poll Shows Citizens Want Law, Order as Priority *[BTA]* 6

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Havel Appeals for Support To Resolve Crisis *[Prague TV]* 7
Leaders React to Havel Address *[CSTK]* 8
Carnogursky Defends Need for Republics' Treaty *[CSTK]* 8
Pithart Responds *[Prague Radio]* 9
Czech, Slovak Differences on Treaty Viewed *[LIDOVE NOVINY 14 Nov]* 9
SNR in 'Crisis' Over State Arrangement *[NARODNA OBRODA 16 Nov]* 10
Carnogursky on Constitution Talks, Slovak Issues *[Bratislava Radio]* 11
Havel Discusses Democracy, Future State Setup *[Prague TV]* 12
Referendum Questions, Voting Results Reported *[SVOBODNE SLOVO 14 Nov]* 13
Nationwide Poll Shows Support for Federation Vote *[CSTK]* 13
SNR Supports Yugoslav Republics' Independence *[CSTK]* 14
Foreign Ministry Denies Arms Supply to SFRY *[Prague Radio]* 14
Slovakia Seeks More Oil Deliveries From USSR *[CSTK]* 14
Foreign Trade Surplus of $333 Million Reported *[CSTK]* 14

HUNGARY

Neutral Air Corridor on Yugoslav Border Agreed *[Budapest TV]* 15
Keleti: SFRY Observing 10 km Limit *[Budapest Radio]* 15
Minister Eyes 'Constant Tension' on SFRY Border *[MTI]* 15
Radical Party Favors Croatia, Slovenia Recognition *[MTI]* 15
Jeszenszky Briefs Government on Soviet Accord *[MTI]* 15
Russian Suspension of Crude Export Licenses Feared *[MTI]* 16
Commerce Minister on Impact *[Budapest Radio]* 16
Kupa's Talks With Ukrainian Financiers Previewed *[MTI]* 16

Jeszenszky Protests Calfa Statement on Interference *[MTI]* 17
Response to Romanian Remarks on Travel Restrictions *[MTI]* 17
Kadar on EC Treaty of Association Talks *[Budapest Radio]* 17
Jeszenszky Discusses European Issues, Gulf Ties *[Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD 15 Nov]* 18
Horn Addresses Socialist Party Conference Opening *[MTI]* 19
Smallholders' Torgyan on Coalition, Election Date *[MTI]* 19
Defense Ministry Reorganization Under Way *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 14 Nov]* 20
National Bank's Sandor on Collecting Debts Owed *[NEPSZABADSAG 13 Nov]* 20
TV Chairman Corrects Misreported Program Changes *[Budapest TV]* 21

POLAND

Coalition Chooses Olzsewski as Prime Minister *[Warsaw Radio]* 22
Olszewski Stresses Need for New Economic Policy *[PAP]* 22
Government Signs Agreement With Solidarity Miners *[PAP]* 22
Deputy Defense Minister on Disarmament Problems *[PAP]* 23
Delay in Initialling EC Agreement 'Beneficial' *[PAP]* 23
SDRP Council on CPSU Funds, Political Plans *[TRYBUNA 12 Nov]* 23
PAP Cites Soviet Attache on CP Headquarters 24
PAP Rejects Attache's Charges 25

ROMANIA

Iliescu Views Domestic, International Issues *[Bucharest Radio]* 26
Stolojan Announces Wage Indexation Rate *[ROMPRES]* 31
Stolojan, Serbian Prime Minister Comment on Talks *[Bucharest Radio]* 32
Iliescu Receives SFRY Presidency's Jovic *[TANJUG]* 33

YUGOSLAVIA

International

Croatian Ministry Appeals to Bush, Kohl for Help *[Zagreb Radio]* 34
Defense Secretariat Denies Carrington Statement *[TANJUG]* 34
Romanian, Serbian Leaders Say Sanctions No Help *[TANJUG]* 34
Army Ensures Security for EC Observers in Vukovar *[Zagreb Radio]* 34
Draskovic Wants UN Protection Force in Croatia *[TANJUG]* 35
Soviet Captain Confirms Croatians Sank Tugboat *[TANJUG]* 35
Swiss Red Cross Boat To Evacuate Injured *[Bern International]* 35
France, Italy Send Aid Ships to Dubrovnik *[AFP]* 35

Federal

Republics Chamber Denies Confidence in Markovic *[TANJUG]* 36
Presidency To Replace Prime Minister Markovic *[TANJUG]* 36
Statement on Markovic, Loncar *[TANJUG]* 36
Kostic Outlines Removal Plans *[TANJUG]* 37
Markovic Removal, Assembly Breakin Possibly Linked *[Zagreb TV]* 38
BORBA Expects Prime Minister To 'Step Down' *[TANJUG]* 39
Commentary Assesses Markovic's Departure *[TANJUG]* 39
Federal Chamber Delegates Continue To Meet 39
Fail To Agree on Resuming Work *[TANJUG]* 39
Call For UN Force in Croatia *[TANJUG]* 39
Mesic on European Recognition of Croatia, Slovenia *[Zagreb TV]* 40
BORBA Finds Pact on UN Forces 'Astonishing' *[TANJUG]* 40
Kadijevic: Military 'Does Not Want This War' *[TANJUG]* 40
Secretariat Denies Raseta-Tus Meeting Report *[TANJUG]* 41
Army Officers Charged with Anti-JNA Activities *[TANJUG]* 41

Slovenia

Republic 'Disappointed' With EC, Sanctions *[Belgrade Radio]* 41
Republic Protests to Serbia Over Slovenes *[TANJUG]* 42

Croatia

'Chetniks' Violate Cease-Fire on Battlefields *[Zagreb Radio]* 42
Split Naval District Command Rejects 'Propaganda' *[TANJUG]* 42
Split Cease-Fire Agreement Signed 16 Nov *[Zagreb Radio]* 43
Reportage Continues on Fierce Fighting in Vukovar 43
Troops Offer To Surrender *[TANJUG]* 43
JNA on Mopping-Up Operations *[TANJUG]* 43
Government Allows Talks With JNA *[Zagreb Radio]* 44
Government Warns Kadijevic *[Zagreb Radio]* 44
Civilians' Protection Demanded *[Zagreb Radio]* 45
JNA To Suspend Operations *[TANJUG]* 45
Army Issues Surrender Orders *[TANJUG]* 45
JNA Suspects Hostage Holding *[TANJUG]* 45
Statement on Evacuation, Sanctions *[Zagreb Radio]* 46
Negotiations on Surrender Begin *[TANJUG]* 46
Nationalists To Topple Tudjman If Vukovar Falls *[AFP]* 47
Navy Denies Military Action at Dubrovnik *[TANJUG]* 47
Cease-Fire Violation Reported *[Zagreb Radio]* 47
Residents of Dubrovnik Announce Republic Formation *[Belgrade Radio]* 48
'SAR Krajina' Leader Welcomes Peacekeeping Force *[TANJUG]* 48
SDS Urges Krajina's Babic To Resign *[TANJUG]* 48
Republic Stops Postal, Telegraph Services *[TANJUG]* 48

Serbia

Kosutic Expresses Optimism Over Carrington Mission *[TANJUG]* 49
Jovanovic Interviewed on Dubrovnik, UN Troops *[London TV]* 49
Positively Assesses UK Talks *[TANJUG]* 50
VMDK Protests Drafting of Ethnic Hungarians *[MAGYAR NEMZET 12 Nov]* 51

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Cengic Rebuts Reportage on Trip to Turkey *[Sarajevo Radio]* 51
Government Plans Measures To Improve Neum Forces *[TANJUG]* 52
Tuzla Sector Reservists Called to Barracks *[TANJUG]* 52

Montenegro

Titograd Command Calls on Reservists To Report *[TANJUG]* 52
Titograd Alters Guidelines on Foreign Travel *[TANJUG]* 53

Macedonia

Assembly Session Adopts New Constitution 17 Nov *[TANJUG]* 53
Party Rifts Emerge *[Belgrade Radio]* 53
Federal Chamber Delegates Explain Absence *[TANJUG]* 54

Kapllani Meets With Bosnian Presidency's Abdic

AU1711204991 Tirana ATA in English 1831 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Tirana, November 15 (ATA)—On November 14, the Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani received the member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Fikret Abdic, and the delegation headed by him.

After speaking on the Yugoslav political picture which Albania follows with special concern, Mr. Kapllani said that he was for a fruitful economic cooperation between Albania and Bosnia-Hercegovina. Albania considers the constructive cooperation with the peoples and sovereign republics of Yugoslavia as a means to improve the general political situation on the Yugoslav territory which is to the mutual benefit.

Mr. Fikret Abdic spoke with sympathy and respect for the Albanians on both sides of the border and pointed to the importance of equality amongst peoples and nations of Yugoslavia. He said that as effective roads as possible should be found to instigate cooperation between Bosnia-Hercegovina and Albania and to materialize this cooperation in different fields of common interest.

Turkish Chief of General Staff Arrives in Tirana

AU1711204591 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] A high-level Turkish military delegation led by General (Erdogan Gures), chief of the Turkish Army's General Staff, arrived in our country this afternoon for an official and friendly visit.

Mr. Gures and other members of the delegation were met at Rinas Airport by Defense Minister Perikli Teta; Kostaq Karoli, chief of the Army General Staff; Deputy Foreign Minister Ilir Bocka; Deputy Public Order Minister Fadil Cani; and senior Army officers. Turkish Ambassador Teoman Surenkok was also present.

Mr. (Erdogan Gures) made a statement on his arrival, saying among other things: I was invited by the chief of the General Staff of the Albanian Army, and accepted his invitation with pleasure. This is the first high-level visit we have paid to your country. We will hold talks in various military fields. We will be pleased if we can contribute to Albania's Armed Forces. I only arrived a short time ago, and I have met very good people. I convey my greetings to the Albanian Armed Forces and the entire Albanian people.

Bufi Confers With Alia Before Visit to U.S.

AU1611201691 Tirana ATA in English 1900 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Tirana, November 16 (ATA)—On the eve of the premier's departure for the USA, Ramiz Alia, president of the Republic received Prime Minister Ylli Bufi and talked with [words indistinct]. The president said that premier's visit to the USA is an expression of the positive development of the relations between the two countries. The contacts and talks will serve not only the mutual acquaintance and affirmation of the will for friendship but also the opening of a more optimistic perspective for economic cooperation. The USA's aid in this field, the president said, is an aid which serves the strengthening of new democracy cultivating in Albania.

The president said likewise that premier's visit to the USA will be another occasion to make known to the senior American personalities Albanian Government's view on the Yugoslav crisis and its consequences, especially on the grave situation and the inhuman treatment of the Albanians of Kosovo and of the other territories in Yugoslavia. We, the president said, evaluate USA's official support in favour of the legitimate rights of our Kosovar brothers. He assessed this support as an expression of loyalty to the lofty ideals of justice and humanism.

On the same day before noon the president of the Republic Ramiz Alia received the Minister of Education Maqo Lakrori and the Secretary of State for Education Paskal Milo. The president concerned himself about the treatment by the state organs of the students' demands. He voiced his preoccupation that these demands be properly solved, that the students find tranquility and security in their campuses and be defended against the acts [words indistinct] by evildoers.

Later, regarding these questions, the president met and talked with a group of students of the Agricultural University of Kamza. He [words indistinct], which he considered as right, and voiced his conviction that the government will adopt the necessary measures to meet them.

The minister of education Maqo Lakrori, who was present at the meeting said that the government is giving priority to the possibility of aiding this school year those students coming from the village, who lack the necessary incomes. The president evaluated and backed up this government's solution, which, he said, is an aid to the peasantry, particularly at this time , when the life in the countryside is not yet stabilized and many families can hardly afford that keep their children pursue the higher studies.

Bufi Departs, Seeks Humanitarian Aid

AU1711204491 Tirana ATA in English 0909 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] Tirana, November 17 (ATA)—The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Albania, Ylli Bufi, left on a visit to the United States of America on November 16, before noon. The aim of this visit is to ensure a greater economic humanitarian aid on the part

of the U.S.A. for the success of the economic reform undertaken by the Government of Stability, exchange of views on the situation in our region, as well as the establishment of closer links with the Albanian community in the U.S.A., especially with the business one.

At Rinas airport the Premier Ylli Bufi and the persons accompanying him were seen off by the deputy premier and minister of economy, Dr. Gramoz Pashko; the Deputy Premier Zydi Pepa; the minister of foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani; and other government members.

Present were also the charge d'affaires a.i. of the U.S.A. in Tirana, Christopher Hill, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Italy in Tirana, Torquato Cardilli.

Council of Ministers Explains Papers Nonpublication

AU1611200391 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Tirana, November 16 (ATA)—On Friday 15th November, the Council of Ministers issued the following statement in connection with the non-publication of newspapers.

"A chronic lack of raw materials is affecting all sectors of Albanian industry. The Council of Ministers regrets that these shortages are also affecting the newspaper industry.

This government is committed to a free and independent press to operate in Albania. The lack of paper is a direct result of raw material shortages at the paper mill in Lezha and is in no way a calculated attempt to curb freedom of speech or expression. The government is making new efforts to obtain supplies as soon as possible.

Republican Party Rejects All-Albanian Assembly

AU1611200891 Tirana ATA in English 0921 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Tirana, November 16 (ATA)—In a statement distributed to the press on November 14 with regard to the initiative of a group of intellectuals to convene a national assembly, the Albanian Republican Party stresses among others:

This initiative is in the same direction with our idea, but does not comply with it, both in form and content. We have to openly assert that the communists brought about the division of the nation. This has begun with their pro-Serbian policy since the time of the war collaborating in the genocide and oppression of Kosovo and pursuing at the same time the same policy towards the Cam brothers as well. Whereas in the 45 years post war communist rule, national division was turned into a continuous tragedy due to the class struggle. [sentence as received] The Socialist Party that is in power at present is responsible for the destruction and destabilisation of the country pursuing in other conditions the same line of the Party of Labour of Enver Hoxha.

We think, the statement says further on that there can be no talk of national unity with the communists, if they do not realistically give up not only the past but also the persistence to keep under control the country's life, under the guise of renovation. We think that we cannot imagine a national assembly of the political parties, despite their good aims, the more so when a clear platform of this assembly has not been forwarded, and when we do not know which decisions are aimed at. Under these circumstances the Republican Party considers the convocation of this assembly untimely and fruitless and will not participate in it.

We think that a national assembly of the democratic forces at home and abroad, including the diaspora, is rather necessary and it should be held as soon as possible. The Republican Party is committted to make its contribution to attain this goal, the statement says in conclusion.

Moscow Mayor Delivers Gorbachev Message to Zhelev

AU1611153291 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] This afternoon Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev received Gavriil Popov, mayor of Moscow, who brought a special message from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to the economic forum that has opened in Sandanski.

In his message, the Soviet president congratulates the participants in the constituent conference of the International Union of Economists—representatives of different countries, republics, and nationalities— and voices his confidence that the establishment of direct contacts between scientists, specialists, representatives of business circles, bankers, and entrepreneurs will contribute to implementing the processes of integration with the European and world economy.

Mikhail Gorbachev also voiced the hope that the work of the International Union of Economists would help in solving the specific problems and seeking new forms of cooperation.

Ukraine Electricity Contract Terms Finalized

AU1511212291 Sofia BTA in English 1856 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 15 (BTA)—The Bulgarian delegation authorized to negotiate with the Ukrainian leadership reached an agreement under which Bulgaria will get the 850-900 million kilowatt hours of electricity it needs until the end of 1991.

Mr. Stefan Nenchev, senior expert at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and member of the delegation, said on the national radio that the countries agreed on two contracts for electricity supply: Bulgaria will get 450 million kilowatt hours in exchange for Bulgarian goods—mostly mechanical engineering products and certain medicines. The remaining 400-450 million kilowatt hours will be supplied against the delivery of an equivalent amount of natural gas. All conditions are right for Bulgaria's getting the necessary amount of electric power until the end of the year, Mr. Nenchev said.

Owing to the suspension of electricity transmissions from the Ukraine and Moldavia, Bulgaria was forced to introduce nationwide power supply rationing last month. The previous government drew fire for having made a contract for electricity supply from the USSR "on rash trust." Bulgaria contacted the Ukrainian leadership and power exports had been resumed even before the agreement was reached.

Leaders of Razgrad, northwestern Bulgaria, and the Sverdlovsk province in Russia will hold talks on a barter deal in which the region of Razgrad would get 10,000 tonnes of fuel oil for its thermal electric power stations in exchange for mechanical- engineering and chemical-industry products, mineral fertilizers and electrical appliances.

Kostov Signs Agreement With U.S. on Farming Aid

AU1511210091 Sofia BTA in English 1705 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 15 (BTA)—Minister of Finance Ivan Kostov and Ms. Carol Eidelman, deputy director of the European Section of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), signed an agreement under which Bulgaria is to receive 10 million dollars as gratuitous aid in addition to the structural adjustment loan. The amount will be used to meet the expenses for the land cadastre and for the land restitution.

The Bulgarian section of the AID was opened today. The AID will render assistance to the Bulgarian Government in carrying out the privatization. Ms. Eidelman told the press that a 50-million-dollar fund will be started to help along small and medium privately-owned businesses. Bilateral projects have been developed for the supply of medical equipment and for the improvement of housing construction and the housing market. U.S. experts will assist Bulgarian enterpreneurs to make their businesses profitable.

According to a report presented by the AID, the U.S. Administration has considerably increased its aid for Bulgaria. This year it totalled 88 million dollars, while in the fiscal 1990 it was only 2.2 million dollars. In 1991 the United States provided Bulgaria with 300,000 tonnes of fodder grain.

Joint Economic Panel With Japan To Resume Work

AU1611152991 Sofia BTA in English 2126 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 15 (BTA)—The situation in Bulgaria is difficult now but along with the G-24 and the G-7 Japan will help the Bulgarian economy, said Mr. Makoto Kikegawa, secretary general of the Japanese-Bulgarian Committee for Economic Cooperation. He is visiting here at the head of a delegation which got familiar with the economic policy of the new government and the state of the Bulgarian economy.

In talks with the Bulgarian section of the committee it was agreed to hold its 12th session in Sofia in June 1992. In February experts of leading Bulgarian ministries will leave for Tokyo to familiarize the Japanese business circles with the economic reforms in Bulgaria, with the opportunities for wider bilateral economic relations and for the attraction of Japanese investment.

According to Mr. Kikegawa, the moratorium on debt service payments declared in April 1990 had a negative effect on Japanese businessmen's desire to invest in this country. He also stressed that if Bulgarian businesses start producing competitive items, Japan will start buying from them to fill its market gaps. The Japanese centre on production is planned to help Bulgaria upgrade the quality of its products.

Despite a certain decline in two-way trade, Bulgarian-Japanese relations are far from a low point. Between

January and September 1991 the two countries exchanged goods worth 23 million dollars. Bulgarian exports to Japan included foods, light-industry products and a counterpressure casting installation bought by Toyota Corp.

Greek Government Welcomes Zhelev Dialogue Proposal

AU1611185391 Sofia BTA in English 1651 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Athens, November 16 (BTA correspondent)—Greece is ready to consider the proposal of Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev for the start of political dialogue between Athens, Sofia and Ankara, said Greek Government spokesman Viron Polydoras [spelling of name as received] late last night in an interview for the "ELEFTEROTIPIA" newspaper.

The spokesman recalled that while President Zhelev was making his speech in Brussels, Greece's Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Andonis Samaras described the Bulgarian initiative as "extremely positive." Mr. Polydoras avoided an answer to the point-blank question whether the initiative was an attempt to mediate between Greece and Turkey but said that Greece saw the proposal as a "continuation" of Athens's initiative of June 1991 on the withdrawal of offensive weapons from the common border of Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey.

Foreign Minister Ganev Gives First TV Interview

AU1611154491 Sofia BTA in English 2136 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 15 (BTA)—Bulgarian Television this evening aired live its first interview with the new Bulgarian foreign minister, Mr. Stoyan Ganev.

"I wouldn't say that we are meddling, that we are overconfident or that we want to mediate the settlement of disputes, what guides us is a desire to secure stability for Bulgaria, and regional stability depends on that, too," Mr. Ganev said, asked about the source of Bulgaria's self-confidence in proposing mediation for the settlement of the Cyprus problem.

He said that the idea of the Bulgarian proposals which were unveiled yesterday emerged, among other things, after his separate meetings in Brussels with the foreign ministers of Turkey and Greece. "At those meetings I could feel both countries' well-intentioned and friendly attitude to Bulgaria," Mr. Ganev said, adding that the regional problems were discussed candidly at those talks.

Another source of these initiatives is, according to the foreign minister, the policy of openness adopted by the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). "The reaction was quite positive and I believe that the idea of trilateral contacts between Sofia, Athens and Ankara was accepted because it was not propaganda," Mr. Ganev said. In his view the point of this proposal is that the three countries are in a position to take measures to guarantee their mutual security and to become a factor of security in a sensitive area.

The Bulgarian foreign minister believes that the first meeting between the foreign ministers of Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria could take place as early as on December 20, when he is invited in his capacity as chief Bulgarian diplomat to attend the NATO session.

Mr. Ganev said NATO saw the Bulgarian initiative as a practical opportunity for the inclusion of Bulgaria into a mechanism, a process which exists through NATO. "The North Atlantic Alliance will be increasingly emerging as a stabilizing and security-maintaining factor in Europe, and if we are not part of this factor we would be showing a national inferiority complex," Mr. Ganev said, asked to comment on the fears in certain political circles that Bulgaria is getting too closely committed to NATO.

New Interior Minister Statkov Discusses Plans

AU1611194491 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 12 Nov 91 pp 1,2

[Interview with Dimitur Statkov, newly appointed minister of internal affairs, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "There Will Be No Purge"]

[Text] Yesterday ex-Minister Danov officially passed the torch to Yordan Sokolov, his successor, friend, and colleague from the legal profession. Two hours later, a group of journalists, myself included, were received on a "priority basis" in the minister's office, which was already occupied by his aides. As we expected, the newly appointed minister expressed his benevolent attitude toward the mass media on which he greatly relies for the solution of numerous problems, he said.

Answering a question of the daily TRUD, Mr. Sokolov stated as follows: I am not affiliated with any political party, but I am a supporter of the SDS and I do not see why I should make a secret of it. Nevertheless, I must immediately add that, contrary to certain expectations, I will not engage in any purge for political reasons. It is my task to contribute to the change of the system. My criterion will be exclusively based on the professional qualifications of the employees. Only those who were blind weapons of the former regime will have to leave.

[TRUD] Are you afraid of bad advisers, even if they are qualified professionals?

[Sokolov] I am actually afraid of people who are likely to dupe me, and therefore I am particularly careful. Such a risk always exists, but I will try not to be isolated.

[TRUD] Are you tolerant of criticism?

[Sokolov] Very much so. As a matter of principle, lawyers are usually very tolerant of criticism. This may be a professional disease, but the fact is that I like to hear different opinions.

[TRUD] As a so-called "outsider," how do you plan to start your work?

[Sokolov] In the forthcoming days all departments and sections of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are expected to present reports on their chief problems and on their causes and to submit their own proposals for their solutions. As of tomorrow we declare total war on profiteering, gambling, and illegal currency deals. The police must not only punish crime but also try to prevent it. I also intend to raise the question of archives, such as for example the files on the People's Court trials following 9 September 1944, and the "special files" on political emigres, the so-called "deserters of their homeland." There is no reason such files should be secret. As a lawyer I also insist on some changes in the police forces' organization and on the accelerated passing of the Law on the Police. People are expecting this.

[Trud] Can you say a few words about your family status?

[Sokolov] I have two daughters from my first marriage. One of them followed in my footsteps in my profession, and the other one is a chief assistant at the Pharmaceutic Faculty. I also have a granddaughter. My present wife, who did not welcome my appointment with great enthusiasm, is a professor at the Chemical-Technical Institute. I am a third generation law graduate, and I am not afraid of work. There is nothing to be ashamed of in my biography. I am an optimist.

Changes in Defense Ministry, Army Leaders Planned

AU1611135591 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Excerpts] The international conference on the army's role in democratic society ended a short time ago in the Boyana Residence in Sofia. The conference was organized by the U.S. Rand Corporation and the Bulgarian Ministry of Defense under the patronage of President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev. Here is a report from our correspondent Georgi Patakochev.

[Patakochev] [passage omitted] During the two days of the conference over 15 papers were delivered on various aspects of the transition to democracy of the postcommunist military institutions, basic data about the reform in the Bulgarian Armed Forces, civilian control over the Army, the role of the military-industrial complex, relations between civilians and the military in the U.S. Army, and the U.S. Army's links with civil society in the United States. [passage omitted]

This morning Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev gave his assessment of the conference, stressing that the Bulgarian Army's democratic renewal cannot be achieved without utilizing the available potential of the army personnel, who must now be brought into line with the criteria of the new age. Here is the opinion of Colonel General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, on the conference.

[Begin Petrov recording] I would hesitate to give a precise assessment of the conference, but would like to express my personal view. First, as a soldier I believe that it is absolutely the right time to hold such a conference, because with the appointment of a civilian defense minister we are starting to make practical changes in the leadership of the Defense Ministry and the General Staff. In addition, structural changes will be undertaken in the Armed Forces.

At the seminar on military doctrines held in Vienna from 8-17 October, all the CSCE member countries declared the defensive nature of their military doctrines and their readiness to institute structural changes in their armed forces, that is, to bring them into strict compliance with the defensive nature of their doctrines. We cannot stand on the sidelines while this process takes place, and our first task is naturally to complete these structural changes.

We will give up the divisional and army structures and will adopt brigade and army corps structures, which are smaller in personnel strength, more mobile, and purely defensive. Accordingly, practical work lies ahead for us in this direction, and for this reason the conference was extremely beneficial for us. [end recording]

BSP Leader Does Not Expect Property Confiscation

AU1511205791 Sofia BTA in English 1834 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Plovdiv, November 15 (BTA)—The leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], Mr. Aleksandur Lilov told the press today he just could not imagine that the party's property would be confiscated and the party itself outlawed. Asked by BTA whether the MP's of the BSP would stay in parliament as representatives of their electorate if it happens, Mr. Lilov's answer was "No." "The people who were elected with the red ballot-paper cannot be expected to behave like sheep among the shearers," he stressed.

He said that the BSP had no intention to start a television or radio channel of its own.

The election of Mr. Aleksandur Tomov as head of the shadow cabinet does not yet mean he will be elected chairman of the BSP at its 40th congress, Mr. Lilov said.

Mr. Lilov believes that nothing else can prevent the BSP from holding its 40th congress scheduled for December

14-16 but "the imposition of martial law or a state of emergency banning the congress," he joked.

Agrarian Party Supports Democratic Forces Candidate

AU1511205091 Sofia BTA in English 1902 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Sofia, November 15 (BTA)—[passage omitted] Members and supporters of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party, which remained unrepresented in parliament, have set up an initiative committee in support of the Union of Democratic Forces candidate for president. The country's number one political force is yet to unveil its nomination for the January 12 presidential elections but is expected to pick the incumbent head of state Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev.

Mr. Ivan Glushkov, a former deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly, gave his first news conference in his capacity as leader of the newly formed Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the future movement. The movement does not seek a split in the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and will operate within it without registering as a separate political force. The purpose of the movement is to draft alternative documents for the Agrarians' forthcoming congress. The group led by Mr. Ivan Glushkov, who was expelled from the top leadership of the United Bulgarian Agrarian Party, opposes the nomination of the incumbent agrarian leader Tsenko Barev for another term in senior office. [passage omitted]

Green Party To Join Democratic Center Coalition

AU1611192391 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 11 Nov 91 p 3

[Zhana Nikolova report]

[Text] Ivan Gorinov, a spokesman for the Greens, told 24 CHASA that with 17 votes for, three against, and six abstentions, and after almost five hours of debates on 11 November, the National Council confirmed the participation of the Green Party in the Bulgarian Democratic Center [BDTS].

The organizations from the provinces supported the idea of integration by rejecting the arguments of some of the leaders that the coalition would deprive the eco-party of its individuality.

By 15 December, A. Karakachanov, D. Novakov, L. Ivanov, V. Tserovski, and Sv. Slavov, along with partners from the BDTS, must prepare a constituent agreement and statute.

After Soloman Pasi's resignation was announced about a month ago, he officially withdrew on 9 November.

Mr. Gorinov stated that the Finance Commission, headed by D. Kanazireva from the Greens' Bureau, will review the election campaign accounts. The Council has scheduled the party's national conference for 25 and 26 January 1992.

Green Party experts believe that the Union of Democratic Forces deputies who participated in the eco-rock-festival in Ruse in October foiled the signing of the convention that was almost ready between Romania and Bulgaria. Mr. Gorinov promised that in the next few days they would present evidence to this effect.

In his opinion, the blunder at Ruse was an unmeasured populist move of the ruling coalition that played into the Romanian Government's hands.

Sufficient Fuel Supply Reported for Motorists

AU1611192691 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 12 Nov 91 p 1

[24 CHASA staff report]

[Text] Neftokhim will supply 110,000 tonnes of fuel during November, which is more than the Petroleum Company's orders for the month and significantly higher than actual consumption, Kupen Dimov, Petroleum Company deputy director general told 24 CHASA. The orders are for 100,000 tonnes monthly, and average fuel consumption does not exceed 70,000 tonnes of fuel for the country.

There are only lines at the main Sofia gasoline stations because motorists want to economize on the few kilometers to the outskirts of Sofia where prices have been freed, Mr. Dimov claimed. There is no longer a shortage of supplies because manufacturers ensure that there is more fuel than is needed at the new prices. He stated that throughout the country the market was saturated and taken care of.

Poll Shows Citizens Want Law, Order as Priority

AU1711204291 Sofia BTA in English 1844 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 17 (BTA)—Most people (about 90 percent) in Bulgaria's four largest cities: Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna and Blagoevgrad expect the new government's foremost priority to be law and order, according to the results of an express opinion poll aired on national television this evening.

Next those interviewed cited unemployment control. On these two counts the respondents were unanimous, irrespective of their political affiliations.

The poll showed, however, that BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] supporters place third their expectations of wage and pension rises, while the sympathizers of the ruling SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] want the government to implement a more active economic policy and fast privatization.

Havel Appeals for Support To Resolve Crisis

LD1711194591 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1830 GMT 17 Nov 91

["Address to the Nation" by President Vaclav Havel—live]

[Text] Esteemed Fellow Citizens: Everything seems to indicate that, at present, our representative bodies are unable to reach a timely and reasonable agreement about future coexistence in our state.

They are politically split, paralyzed by internal conflicts, and the danger of being alienated from the citizens who elected them grows all the time.

The citizens of our two republics wish to know, finally, in what sort of a state they are going to live, and they are disillusioned by the current state of constitutional talks and rightly feel endangered by the possible failure of the talks.

The legitimacy of these fears is further strengthened by the fact that the current constitutional situation inherited from the communist regime does not offer any constitutional ways to solve such crises and to fight the danger that the deepening conflicts will, in the end, totally paralyze state power.

As you well know, I initiated a long series of various political talks about the future form of our state. I wanted to contribute personally toward the success of these talks by making public, in January, my working draft of the federal constitution. As a democrat, I relied on dialogue and political will to reach a consensus. All my effort has so far brought only minimal results, and I am afraid that I have already exhausted all my options in this direction.

Politicians are more interested in instructions from their party councils than in my proposals, and the talks that I have organized for so long have begun to go in circles and have gradually become the object of opposition and even mockery by our citizens and the mass media.

In this situation, I cannot but turn directly to you, the citizens of our republic, with a request for help. I have been elected to my post by your representatives, by your will, and thus I feel that I have to answer not only to them but, above all, to you. I ask you, in the interest of protecting our state against chaos, in the interest of democracy and all ideals—in the name of which you stood up against the totalitarian power two years ago—to express—more loudly than you have been doing until now—your wish to live soon in a sensibly and justly arranged prosperous state and to help in this by having our National Councils, which are in a bitter dispute, find a way out from the blind alley in which they find themselves.

Appeal, please, to the men and women whom you have elected, to remember promises given to you and the election platforms on the basis of which they were elected, to take notice of that which is in your interest and to find in themselves that high level of responsibility for the future fate of our state that this difficult time demands of them.

I myself, if I am not to overstep the framework of my power and to spit on the very principles of our legislative democracy that is being born with so much difficulty, can no longer manage without your help.

I have decided to submit in the next few days to the Federal Assembly the following proposals:

First: A draft amendment of the constitutional law on referendum. I shall ask for a clause—that was in my original proposal and that the Federal Assembly deleted—to be returned to the law. The clause makes it possible for the president to declare a referendum as a result of his own decision, providing that the Federal Government does not speak out against it.

Second: I shall also ask to include in the law a principle that is contained in my draft constitution—that the president is also obliged to declare a referendum if 20 percent of the voters in one of the republics are in favor of it.

Third: A draft amendment of the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak federation, that would state that a new federal constitution comes into force only after being initialled by the National Councils, as has already been agreed upon by all the main political forces.

I also decided to call on the Federal Government—in the spirit of its recent statement and taking into account the results of talks between the presidia of the National Councils—to draft proposals on those parts of the future federal constitution that concern the powers, structure, and activities of executive power. The Federal Assembly can hold preliminary discussions about these drafts, and if an agreement between the National Councils is not reached by the end of this year then it can rely on the government initiative when adopting a federal constitution. If the National Councils manage to reach agreement on the principles of a constitutional set up, it will make the Federal Assembly's task easier.

I am convinced that the adoption of these proposals can significantly contribute toward an early clarification of our future constitutional setup and—in the case that citizens will express themselves in a referendum in favor of preserving our common state—as I firmly believe, will also contribute toward the adoption of a new federal constitution before the elections.

Since previous experience shows that the present Federal Assembly can easily find itself in a situation where it will be totally incapable of passing any fundamental laws vital for the functioning of the state—such a situation does not need to occur just during discussion of constitutional issues, it can occur for instance during the forthcoming state budget talks—I consider it necessary that it speedily adopt other legislative standards that I am about to submit to it in the forthcoming days. They are the following three bills:

First: A constitutional bill that will newly and accurately define circumstances under which it is possible to dissolve the Federal Assembly and call new elections and that, at the same time, will give the president the right to issue laws in the form of decrees after the Federal Assembly has been dissolved, which of course will be subject to approval by a newly elected Federal Assembly. We are transforming our entire legislative system, and we cannot allow the legislative process to stop for three months.

Second: A constitutional bill on a new structure of the federal representative body. This proposal will be based on the idea of a democratic federation and will secure direct participation of the republics in deciding federal issues. It will be based on the principle already contained in my draft of a constitution and envisages the existence of a one-chamber Federal Assembly and an independent Federal Council formed by representatives of National Councils that will have the right to return laws to the Federal Assembly. If a new constitution is not adopted before the elections, or if it is necessary to call early elections, then there has to exist some constitutional law so that there will be at least some body for which to elect representatives. Otherwise there would be a danger that the elections will not produce any representative body, which could be one of the causes of a genuine break up of the state.

Third: The electoral law, that will ensure that citizens who enjoy the greatest trust of the voters would be elected to the future representative bodies.

In all, I would like to propose five [as heard] laws. You can, no doubt, imagine how difficult the path toward having them adopted will be in the present situation. Nevertheless, I cannot see any other way out, at present, from the directly threatening, deep constitutional crisis, and I, therefore, ask you to support these proposals resolutely to your deputies. You will not only help me or them, but above all yourselves.

Dear Fellow Citizens: I once said, at one of the big rallies, that truth and love must win over lies and hatred. Today, I would like to add that common sense, humbleness, and responsibility have to win over shortsightedness, pride, and willfulness. In some sense, more is at stake today than was at stake two years ago. Then it was only a question whether or not we would put up for a bit longer with the decomposing totalitarian system, or whether we would clearly reject it. Today, the issue is whether we shall become a civilized European democracy, or a despised area of constant conflict and chaos. I can daily convince myself that you prefer the first of these two alternatives. I, therefore, ask you to show this will of yours clearly.

I thank you for your attention and the trust you continue to show in me.

Leaders React to Havel Address

LD1711215791 Prague CSTK in English 2114 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] Prague Nov 17 (CSTK)—The Czechoslovak Government will comply with President Vaclav Havel's request to draft articles of the future federal constitution, concerning executive power, and will soon present them to the federal parliament, Federal Premier Marian Calfa told CSTK tonight.

He was reacting to Havel's televised address to the people of Czechoslovakia earlier, in which the president proposed legislation aimed at leading the country out of the current constitutional deadlock.

Calfa said he shares Havel's assessment of the situation in the country as being very serious.

Czech Premier Petr Pithart told CSTK he shares Havel's view that pushing through the proposals he announced will be very difficult.

Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), told CSTK in Bratislava that the KDH approved at its congress last weekend the sequence of steps to be taken in the constitutional sphere, which means completing the current talks. If they fail, the KDH will enter the election campaign with a programme for a looser union of the two republics, he said.

"We would consider it useful if such a union were presented for approval in a referendum", Carnogursky said.

Carnogursky Defends Need for Republics' Treaty

LD1711044191 Prague CSTK in English 1856 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Bratislava Nov 16 (CSTK)—The nature and ways how an agreement between the Slovak and the Czech Republics can be concluded are the main bone of contention at the current talks on Czechoslovakia's future constitutional arrangement, Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky said tonight.

In a televised address to the population of Czechoslovakia, Carnogursky said an agreement between the two republics would formally express the equality of the two republics and lay down the conditions for their further development.

In the agreement the two republics, represented by their parliaments, would at least additionally recognise one another as contractual partners. They did so in 1968 when the federation was set up, though in the form of unilateral declarations, Carnogursky said.

He said that after several rounds of talks between representatives of the republics and the federation, Slovak representatives accepted and pushed through a fundamental structure of the common state, as proposed by President Vaclav Havel in the federal parliament on September 24.

At these talks, however, Czech representatives failed to accept the principles contained in Havel's address; they did not accept an agreement between the republics, Carnogursky said.

He said there is no need to view the individual stages of the talks of the republic parliaments, which are not very successful, as a tragedy. He said he sees another problem in that many Czech politicians put the talks before a false dilemma: "Let us either agree on a relatively firm federation, or let us part completely".

Stronger internal ties within the republic than those that would correspond to the existing psychological and economic links between the two nations will cause ever new disputes which will be hard to settle, Carnogursky said, and stressed that the constitutional links between the republics should be in harmony with the internal links between the citizens of both republics.

Pithart Responds

LD1711172291 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart has reacted today to Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky's address on Czechoslovak television yesterday. He welcomed the fact that Jan Carnogursky had accepted the tacit offer for a dialogue. He added that, for the first time ever, Slovakia has apologized to the Czechs at this level for something that up to now has been the most painful spot in our common history—for expelling Czechs from Slovakia at the beginning of the war. He stressed that he sees in Carnogursky's address signs of goodwill. He further voiced the view that the Slovak prime minister openly endorsed the ideals on the basis of which Masaryk's republic was founded— with one exception, however—and that is that there are two nations, which today is quite understandable.

At the end of his reaction to yesterday's TV address by Jan Carnogursky, Petr Pithart said that the most important thing at the present time is not to allow the constitutional process to stop and to prevent the slamming of the door. To this he added that it is not important how wide this door was opened.

Czech, Slovak Differences on Treaty Viewed

AU1811102991 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 14 Nov 91 pp 1, 3

[Roman Krasnicky article: "Conflict Enumeration"]

[Text] The communique adopted following the talks in Casta-Papiernicka between the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council presidia [on 11-12 November] states that of the 88 provisions contained in the draft treaty, no accord could be reached on 22 of them. The number announced at the news conference comes from one of the experts who, immediately after the talks, added all the controversial items to the text. An "authorized" list is to be drawn on the basis of the minutes. The compendium of several controversial points is evidence of serious differences between the two delegations.

A fundamental difference appears in the very title of the document. The Slovaks propose a "State Treaty Between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic," while the Czech side speaks of a draft "Agreement Between the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council on the Principles of the Constitutional Arrangement of the Common State." The Czech compromise, a "Treaty on the Principles of the Constitutional Arrangement of the Common State", is not acceptable for the Slovaks either. Then again, the Czech delegation does not agree in the preamble with the wording "the Czech National Council for the Czech Republic and the Slovak National Council for the Slovak Republic, building on the right of nations to exercise self-determination and honoring their right to freely develop their way of national and social life...." In Chapter II (Basic Provisions), the Czech side disagrees that both republics "by their respective constitutional laws and other laws independently determine their internal state arrangement." In the section of Chapter III (Powers of the Common State) concerning foreign policy, the Slovak side refuses the formulation that the republics may in their own name "conclude international treaties consented to by the common state." The same party disagrees with the wording "the law of the common state legislature defines which matters of state administration listed therein are executed by the common state and which matters are executed by the republics." This passage is of principal importance in drafting corollary legal norms [podzakonne normy] that could independently originate in the two republics. Neither do the Slovaks agree that the legislative powers of the common state should include "labor relations, employment, collective bargaining, conditions controlling wage developments, retirement and health care plans, social security, and the minimum subsistence level." The Slovak officials also categorically refuse to include in the powers of the common state the family law. The deletion of this item would result in chaos, for instance, in divorces of mixed Czech-Slovak marriages, because different legal norms would apply in the two republics. In addition, the Slovak representatives refuse to deal on the federation level with the status of churches, despite the agreement to such an approach by the Bishops' Conference. Regarding the article on banking, a dispute continues on whether the common state should have legislative power in matters of the "status and legal circumstances of the Czechoslovak State Bank, composition of its bodies, and its relationship with the commercial banks." The dispute concerns the superior position of the central bank over both national banks, or the possibility of having two banks of issue. The Slovaks refused to return control of the post and telecommunications to the federation, and demanded that the passage "the common state has the right to execute matters of state administration and control of the railroads to guarantee public service and defense" be deleted. The political representatives of both sides agreed to discuss a substantial segment of Chapter

IV at a later date. The Slovaks disagree in this chapter with the existence of the common state Supreme Court. In Chapter V (Joint and Closing Provisions), the Czech side disagrees with a part of Article 30: "Constitutional amendments concerning the division of powers, and the list of issues to which the imposition of the ban according to majority's will [zakaz majorizace] applies, are subject to approval by the legislative bodies of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic." The controversy regarding this item is connected with the considerations of creating another chamber (senate?) of the Federal Assembly. The Slovak party would give in on this point, if the Federal Council were to become this chamber and function as a kind of an arbitration body for the two republics.

The incomplete list of differences shows that the number of controversial provisions—although smaller than that of the approved ones—renders the adoption of the agreement, or treaty, basically impossible.

SNR in 'Crisis' Over State Arrangement

AU1811143891 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 16 Nov 91 pp 1-2

[A. Melicharkova report: "One Pulls to the Left, the Other to the Right"]

[Text] Bratislava—Yesterday's meeting of the 18th Slovak National Council [SNR] session—especially the early evening approval of a resolution on the constitutional and legal arrangement—bears witness to the fact that the situation in the Slovak parliament corresponds to this report's headline.

However, the day began with a discussion on the points contained in the resolution. It arose out of a debate on topical sociopolitical issues.

Tension in Parliament

Deputies from the Slovak National Party [SNS] and the Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence party [ODU-VPN] created a ruckus in the chamber when they exchanged views on the "egg throwing" rally in Bratislava on 28 October. Following a vote, the chamber approved a point in the resolution condemning the conduct of the extreme nationalists at this rally. SNS deputies objected to this and pointed out, among other things, that the SNR condemns things before the bodies involved in criminal proceedings have investigated them. Deputy J. Prokes (SNS) heightened the tension between the ODU-VPN and the SNS when he proposed that "the extremist representatives of the joint state who slashed the face of a young girl" should be similarly condemned. Some ODU-VPN deputies strongly objected to this. Deputy V. Ondrus expressed the view that condemnation of extreme nationalists is expected from the SNS in particular. "I would have expected that they would have been the first to distance themselves from this. You (the SNS) cannot then be surprised that people are monitoring you and your program with anxiety and are waiting for you to come into this parliament wearing the jackboots belonging to the [Hlinka] guards uniform," declared V. Ondrus.

Recognizing Slovenia and Croatia

J. Prokes demanded that the SNR Mandate and Immunity Committee deal with this remark. At this point in its resolution, the SNR adopted a point of view on the current situation in Yugoslavia. In it, the SNR appealed to the CSFR, the Federal Assembly, and civilized states throughout the world to take steps leading to the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia.

...And a Crisis Developed

The most dramatic moment of the 18th SNR session came next—the approval of a resolution on the constitutional and legal arrangement. Some deputies had amendments to the resolution. A crisis developed when the chamber approved a proposal put forward by M. Secansky (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia) that drawing up new draft principles for the constitutional and legal arrangement in the Federal Government could complicate further progress in the negotiations between the SNR and the Czech National Council [CNR]. Only 50 deputies turned up for the vote (there are 150 deputies in the SNR). Even after various appeals, a larger number of deputies failed to present themselves for the vote. On the contrary, they fled one after the other, as if they were fleeing "from a sinking ship." The speaker resolved the crisis by calling a recess. The deputies' clubs convened during the recess. At around 1700, Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky made a speech and pointed out that it is necessary to reach a solution that would suit the majority in parliament. This, in fact, opened up the debate. Thanks to this, SNR Chairman Frantisek Miklosko was soon able to submit a proposal to amend the previously adopted resolution put forward by M. Secansky. He also requested that the debate come to an end. The new wording adopted by the chamber is as follows: We expect that drawing up a new draft for the constitutional and legal arrangement on the part of the Federal Government will follow up on the negotiations between the two presidia. The National Councils will express their final decision on the treaty.

Another incident worthy of notice was the voting procedure on the complete wording of the resolution. Forty nine of the 86 deputies present agreed with it. However, when the speaker asked who had abstained, the result from the computer was already on the screen. How come the computer knew first?

It is also stated in the communique that the SNR agrees with its Presidium's course of action in concluding a

treaty between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic as a legal and permanently valid document. It considers the preparation of an initiative draft amendment to the constitutional law to be a constitutional—and possible—course of action toward achieving this situation. According to this initiative draft, the Federal Assembly would adopt the joint state's constitution on the basis of joint draft principles for the constitution agreed upon in a treaty between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic represented by the CNR and the SNR. The constitution's validity should be approved by the National Councils. The SNR expresses its dissatisfaction with its Presidium's approach toward the preparations for the negotiations with the CNR Presidium. At the same time, it tasks the Presidium with drawing up draft alternative solutions to the contentious stipulations contained in the treaty on the principles for the constitutional and legal arrangement and with submitting them to the 19th SNR session. It tasks the commission responsible for preparing the constitution with submitting it to the SNR Presidium and to the deputies' clubs for discussion before the 19th SNR session.

Carnogursky on Constitution Talks, Slovak Issues

LD1611053991 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by correspondent Lubomir Lindtner; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Lindtner] Although many things have already been said on this issue this week, I cannot resist beginning this interview with a question about the talks between the National Council presidia in Casta-Papiernicka. Most people described the talks as a failure, some used the phrase, "Political representatives of the government coalition had failed." Some assessments contained criticism of a concrete political subject. Peter Tatar, member of the Slovak National Council Presidium and deputy for the Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence [ODU-VPN], said that everything had been ruined by the deputies of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]. Jan Kalvoda, deputy chairman of the Czech National Council, talked about confusing views. What is your assessment, Mr. Prime Minister?

[Carnogursky] No, this is not a correct assessment. The KDH's standpoint on the basic philosophy of the future constitutional setup has been clear for at least nine months. That is a union of republics on the basis of an agreement. I have to say that all Slovak representatives have endorsed this basic philosophy. No agreement has been reached so far on this issue, since the Czech side is not yet willing to accept this standpoint. [passage omitted]

Simply, both republics have their own interests that they have failed to harmonize. There is no strong political force in either republic that would succeed in harmonizing these political interests, at least at this time. [passage omitted]

On the other hand, I do not want to have a border on the Morava River, I do not want the culture of both republics and nations to be divided. But, these are all conditions that, in fact, I am not even able to describe individually, since I do not know them. That is the reason why sometimes I express myself vaguely, but this vagueness is caused because I can see a final vision, that is, an equal position in a family and organization of European nations. I do not yet know the individual steps of how to achieve this final position, since these individual steps do not depend only on us. They depend on other states, international organizations, on the position of, for instance, European integration associations and, therefore, we can only gradually, step by step, make these conditions clearer. If we have a final vision, then we are capable of making steps gradually.

[Lindtner] At the Slovak National Council session, a criticism of the Slovak Government was voiced for its failure to fulfill the task of submiting a report on socioeconomic aspects of various variants of constitutional setup. Deputy Prime Minister Vavro said that only a working draft was available in the meantime. What then is the situation, and what is your view of the fact that this kind of report should be delivered at a closed session of the Slovak National Council. I think that a citizen has the right to know what he can expect from the socioeconomic viewpoint, if the federation remains in the same shape, if there is a common state in the sense of the treaty as proposed by the Slovak side, if we have a confederation, or what meaning will an independent Slovak Republic have for a rank and file citizen.

[Carnogursky] A group of experts led by Deputy Prime Minister Vavro has drafted an assessment of economic consequences of the division of a common state. These economic consequences concern particularly the Slovak Republic. I would like to point out that each constitutional change of more fundamental nature includes a lot of unknown elements, and the studies of this kind can be only made as rough assessments. From this viewpoint, it is not very easy to implement the resolution of the Slovak National Council concerning the request that the government should express numerially various alternatives of the constitutional setup. [passage omitted]

The problem of a report of this kind is that it is a mere estimate, and it is only the specialists who are able to establish whether the assessment is viable and whether it is accurate. I fear that if it became available to the public, it would become a subject of speculation and would rather cloud the true picture instead of clarify it. This is why I have certain doubts whether this report should be available for public discussion, not mentioning the fact that this report could further deepen the extent of our disputes, uncertainties, and so on. But, I can see that

what I have said does not really matter, because if we discuss it in this manner on the radio, we can hardly keep it a secret.

[Lindtner] On the agenda of the Slovak National Council plenary session last week was a report by the Security Committee about the activities of the Ministry of Interior since 17 November 1989. The session was closed to the public, but the quotations from the report were published in LIDOVE NOVINY, RESPEKT, and SMENA. In this connection, I was interested in Milan Zitny's pronouncements in an interview for Czechoslovak Radio. Incidentally, as early as March, Mr. Zitny had at his disposal the facts that appeared in the aforementioned report. Now, however, he also dragged into this issue—if I may put it this way—the current interior minister. I quote: Along with certain changes—meaning the personnel changes—dangerous situations are being created in Mr. Pittner's Interior Ministry, which could at a given movment lend its support to a coup in Slovakia. Mr. Pittner has allegedly said that he needed the State Security agents, and I regard this as a continuation of Vladimir Meciar's Interior Ministry policy. These, then, are the quotations from Mr. Zutny's interview carried by Czechoslovak Radio. Mr. Prime Minister, I regard these words as very serious. A coup is mentioned yet again, and the work of the Interior Ministry is being questioned. There is a need to take up a standpoint on this issue.

[Carnogursky] In the current political situation in our republic and also beyond its borders, when everything is fluid and when everything is in the stage of change, it is very important that we preserve the action ability of state institutions. This includes, of course, the preservation of the action of the Interior Ministry. In his interview for Czechoslovak Radio, Milan Zitny dramatized this situation. If former State Security members still work in the Ministry of Interior, then these are only the State Security members, who in the past had tasks of a purely technical nature. For example, the protection of nuclear power plants is also provided by the members of the Ministry of Interior staff, who belonged in the past to the State Security. But these members were not deployed in the anti-internal enemy section. They are able to do their job, they are doing it well, and if we were to dismiss these past formal members of State Security from the Interior Ministry we would, indeed, reduce the action ability of the Ministry of Interior.

[Lindtner] Do you not sense that these words could generate uncertainty, which is a factor that does not exactly benefit the current political situation in Slovakia?

[Carnogursky] Yes, I am inclined to believe that the issue will generate uncertainty.

Havel Discusses Democracy, Future State Setup

LD1611083791 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1850 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Mr. President, what is your assessment of the working week you have spent in Slovakia?

[Havel] I am very glad to have been able to spend this week here in Slovakia. I have had many various talks and meetings. Among those, perhaps the most important for me were meetings with ordinary citizens. [passage omitted] I was again and again assured by people about their desire to live in a common state that would, however, be built differently, more democratically. Again and again, people whom I met apologized for the behavior of those not-too-cultured groups of people who had attacked me a bit during my previous visit. Again and again, people made clear their support for my endeavors. I even gained the impression that people feel that something more is at stake; that at stake is not merely whether we shall have one or two or three states or how our constitutional setup will be arranged. People, as it were, are experiencing the feeling of being threatened, as if they fear the fate of democracy in this country. I have felt this rather strongly precisely here in Slovakia. [passage omitted]

I have come to understand that people feel that at stake are truly serious matters, and that at stake is a democratic, orderly development in our country. Their support was for me not only an encouragement but, above all, it has made clear my responsibility to these citizens.

With regard to the talks on the constitutional setup, I shall not be looking at them idly. In the next few days, perhaps the day after tomorrow, I want to make a speech of a more fundamental nature, in which I would like to articulate certain new initiatives and, above all, I would like to lean, so to speak, on this broad will of our citizens to live in a decent, civilized, just, democratic, and humane state, a will that they have made clear to me everywhere.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you have said that our citizens are already worried. On the other hand, the view has emerged that the fact that the talks are continuing and that unnecessary time limits are not being set for their ending is a positive sign. Do you still hold the same view, that you have already voiced, that a definite date should be set for ending these talks?

[Havel] I believe that it does not make sense to end any talks artificially and set for them a definite date. After all, these talks are continuing, which is in order. Nonetheless, I believe that the talks must be given the infusion of new blood, new impulses. Since the talks between both National Councils are proceeding so slowly, federal bodies must enter them. I myself have welcomed the statement made yesterday by the Federal Government, which has an analogous feeling. I believe that the process of seeking and shaping the future form of our state has to be intensified and given new impulses.

[Correspondent] On 13 November, the Federal Assembly failed to adopt any of the six questions proposed to be put forward in a referendum and, therefore, it in fact blocked the referendum for the time being. It becomes clear that this course of action was not just a

tactic adopted by some Slovak politicians, by a part of the Slovak political scene, but that, at present, this is also the tactics of a part of the Czech political scene. What is your view of this situation, from the viewpoint of the initiator of the law on a referendum and, at the same time, as the president of the republic?

[Havel] I am very sorry that our supreme representative body failed to reach a consensus on this issue. This fact could be interpreted as showing some sort of distrust toward our citizens. This fact also reflects the failure to take into account a widely expressed will in the form of various petitions in which our citizens asked to be given an opportunity to express their views on these issues.

It is a pity that the Federal Assembly did not agree on a question for the referendum, but I would like to continue to initiate things regarding this issue, and I do not intend to give up on this issue.

[Correspondent] The whole world describes Vaclav Havel as the moral authority accepted not only in Czechoslovakia but also abroad. What, in your view, is the role of people with high moral standards in this period of fragile democracy?

[Havel] I think that, namely, our present situation, the tense and unstable political situation in our country, clearly shows the importance of human responsibility, conscience, and tolerance in the political sphere. [passage omitted]

Referendum Questions, Voting Results Reported

AU1511132591

[Editorial Report] Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech on 14 November on pages 1 and 3 carries a 1,200-word "ben"-signed report, entitled "The Chance Is Minimal," on the 12 November session of the Federal Assembly, which failed to approve any of the six questions for a referendum that had been put forward by deputies. The SVOBODNE SLOVO report specifies the questions on which the Federal Assembly voted: The questions were:

1. "Do you wish to live in a common state based on the will of the republics that has its president, government, and legislature with powers of their own?" (This question was put forward by Deputy Rudolf Hrusinsky in the name of the "Club of Independent Deputies Elected for the Civic Forum");

2. "Do you wish the CSFR's division into two independent states—a Czech one and a Slovak one?" (alternative question put forward by Rudolf Hrusinsky in the name of the same club of deputies);

3. "Are you in favor of preserving the CSFR's continuity as a subject under international law, that fully respects the right of nations and national and ethnic minorities to self-determination in the form of self-administered republics, lands, and entities with cultural autonomy?" (put forward by the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement-Coexistence Club of Deputies);

4. "Are you in favor of preserving the common state in its present borders, the form of which will be determined by the constitution, adopted by a legislative body elected in nationwide, direct elections?" (put forward by the Civic Democratic Party);

5. "Are you in favor of a multi-member common state made up of at least three self-administered and equal subjects, in which the historic borders of individual lands in the form in which they existed prior to their abolition on 1 January 1949 are respected?" (put forward by the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia II); and

6. "Do you wish to secede from the federation and live in an independent state?" (put forward by Deputy Josef Tomsa from the Christian Democratic Party).

Summing up the attitude of individual legislative parties to the referendum, the SVOBODNE SLOVO report says: "The support for calling a referendum in the Federal Assembly seems to be insufficient. Only the clubs of deputies of the Civic Movement, the Civic Democratic Party, the Civic Democratic Alliance, the Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence, the Social Democratic Orientation, and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement-Coexistence expressed themselves in favor of calling a referendum, while the clubs of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, the Slovak National Party, the Christian and Democratic Union, the Christian Democratic Movement, the Party of the Democratic Left, and the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia were opposed (for various reasons). The 'Moravian' clubs (Movement for Self-Governing Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia I and Movement for Self-Governing Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia II) make their support for a referendum conditional on the implementation of the Moravian-Silesian Land's right to self-administration."

Nationwide Poll Shows Support for Federation Vote

LD1511234391 Prague CSTK in English 1706 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Prague Nov 15 (CSTK)—In a nationwide poll conducted October 30-November 6, 74 per cent of the people in Czechoslovakia said the future existence of the Czechoslovak state should be decided by a referendum. Of the 1,408 people surveyed by the Prague-based Institute for Public Opinion Research, 33 per cent favpured a "unitary", or undivided state, 29 per cent declared themselves for a Czech-Slovak federation, 15 per cent for a tripartite federation (composed of Bohemia, Moravia-Silesia and Slovakia), 11 per cent for a confederation and eight per cent said the current federation should be broken up into independent states. The poll also revealed a difference in support for the calling of a referendum between the two republics—78 per cent in the Czech Republic, 66 per cent in the Slovak Republic.

Almost half (47 per cent) of the Czech Republic's population thought a referendum would confirm Slovaks' backing for a common state, 26 per cent said it would not. In Slovakia, 63 per cent of those surveyed said people in the Czech Republic would vote in favour of a common state, and 10 per cent believed they would vote to dissolve the federation. [Words indistinct] sceptical that the politicians now pushing for the division of Czechoslovakia would respect the outcome of a referendum if it meant preserving the common state.

SNR Supports Yugoslav Republics' Independence

LD1511174891 Prague CSTK in English 1532 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Bratislava Nov 15 (CSTK)—The Slovak National Council [SNR] (parliament) today called on the Czechoslovak Government, federal parliament and on all civilised states to take speedy steps leading to the recognition of the independence of Slavonia [as received] and Croatia.

In a declaration approved on the final day of its 18th session the Slovak parliament emphasised that the decision of the citizens of the two Yugoslav breakaway republics was made freely and democratically.

The deputies also condemned the politically motivated violence incited by extreme nationalists at a meeting on Czechoslovakia's 73rd anniversary held in Bratislava October 28 and attended by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel. A statement approved at today's session stressed that "the deputies consider those events a disgraceful stain on our way towards democracy and a law-abiding state."

Foreign Ministry Denies Arms Supply to SFRY

LD1511221591 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1800 GMT 15 Nov 91

[text] The Foreign Ministry has resolutely rejected unsubstantiated speculations that have appeared in some Yugoslav and Hungarian media about the alleged transportation of arms and military equipment to Yugoslavia on vessels sailing under the Czechoslovak flag. The ministry regards them as totally unsubstantiated and stresses that, in accordance with its decision made as early as 11 July this year, the Czechoslovak Government identifies with the statement made by EC member countries on an embargo on the supply of arms and military material to Yugoslavia.

Slovakia Seeks More Oil Deliveries From USSR

LD1611042291 Prague CSTK in English 2034 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Bratislava Nov 15 (CSTK)—The first oil from the Severo Ostrovnoye oil deposit in the Tyumen region (Russian Federation) should start flowing to Slovakia in 1993, Slovak Minister of Industry Jan Holcik told journalists on his return from the Soviet Union today.

During his visit a protocol on working out a feasibility study on oil production and transport in the USSR was signed by representatives of a joint venture comprising the Soviet Megionneftegas Company, Japan's C-Itoh Firm and Slovakia's biggest oil processing plant Slovnaft together with representatives of the Slovak Ministry of Industry. The study is to be completed in six months.

Oil from this deposit should cover almost 50 per cent of Slovnaft's needs, Holcik said.

He added that a contract for the delivery of 100,000 tonnes of Soviet oil to Slovakia was also signed during his visit, conditioned by exports of Czechoslovak goods, namely footwear and winter clothes, which are badly needed by the Soviet side.

Foreign Trade Surplus of $333 Million Reported

AU1811112191 Prague CSTK in English 2055 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Bratislava Nov 15 (CSTK)—Czechoslovakia's foreign trade showed a surplus of 10,000 million crowns (about 333 million USD) in the first nine months of the year, Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay said today.

This is partly due to the ministry's effort to diversify Czechoslovak markets and to secure better terms for Czechoslovak exporters, including obtaining the system of general customs preferences from the European Community, Austria and Canada, and the most-favored-nation status granted to Czechoslovakia by the United States and Israel, Baksay told journalists.

He said in the first nine months of the year, Czechoslovak exports were worth 221,700 million crowns in CIF (cost, insurance, freight) prices (7.4 USD, exchange rate 30 crowns per 1 USD).

The biggest customers were firms from Germany (24.6 percent), followed by the USSR (19.4), Poland (6.7), Austria (5.7), Yugoslavia (5.5), Hungary (4.4), etc. 40 percent of all Czechoslovak exports went to the EC countries, Baksay said.

Imports to Czechoslovakia amounted to 211,600 million crowns in trade parity (7.1 USD, exchange rate 30 crowns per 1 USD). The biggest supplier was the USSR-31.1 percent. 70 percent of the total was oil and natural gas. Second place was taken by Germany (19.5), followed by Austria (7.3) and Poland (5.2), Baksay said.

He noted that newly created joint-stock companies and private businesses had a 35.3 percent share in Czechoslovak foreign trade in the first nine months of 1991.

Baksay also said Czechoslovakia's foreign debt now prices stands at 8,800-8,900 million USD [sentence as received]. The increase for the first nine months of the year amounted to just 700-800 million USD.

Neutral Air Corridor on Yugoslav Border Agreed

LD1511214191 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman for the Ministry of Defense, told us over the phone just before our program that at the Subotica meeting of chiefs of staff of the Hungarian and Yugoslav air defense forces today, the Yugoslavs stated that they are ready to accept Hungary's proposal according to which a neutral air corridor will be established along the full length of the border. In accordance with this agreement, no Yugoslav planes will fly within 10 km of the border and no Hungarian planes will fly within the same distance.

Keleti: SFRY Observing 10 km Limit

LD1511235191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Interview with Ministry of Defense Spokesman Gyorgy Keleti by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [correspondent] Earlier the Hungarian military command announced that they are maintaining a preventive measure which they introduced after the events at Barcs. According to this if airplanes of the Yugoslav Air Force approach the Hungarian border to within 30 km, the Hungarian Air Command will alert the planes on alert for air patrol duties. Will this measure remain in force?

[Keleti] For the time being yes, since we believe we have to wait first to see what the results of the neutral air corridor will be, whether it will fullfil expectations.

In practice we can say that the leadership of the Yugoslav Peoples Army, already this Wednesday, one day after the meeting, issued an order for observing the 10 km corridor. It is our experience that since then no Yugoslav plane has approached the Hungarian border closer than 10 km. Yesterday we still had to send up Hungarian planes on five occasions, but today only once. We trust very much that the Yugoslav military situation will develop in such a way that there will be no occasion for sending up planes, because this would mean the complete elimination of any danger to Hungarian air space.

Minister Eyes 'Constant Tension' on SFRY Border

LD1611212891 Budapest MTI in English 1940 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 16 (MTI)—Collecting information on problems of people living in a constant tension due to the Yugoslav civil war was the aim of a visit by Hungarian Minister Without Portfolio Ferenc Jozsef Nagy to south Hungarian villages today. The minister met mayors of the settlements and members of the local councils.

Radical Party Favors Croatia, Slovenia Recognition

AU1811111491 Budapest MTI in English 1910 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, 15 November (MTI)—Members of the Radical Party demonstrated for the recognition of the Croatian and Slovenian republics outside the Yugoslavian Embassy in Budapest on Friday afternoon. The demonstrators wanted to present the price of a railway ticket to Belgrade to whom they called "the title-usurping ambassador of Serbia (the former Yugoslavia)." The donation was taken over by an embassy official.

Simultaneously with the Budapest event, radical party demonstrations were held in Moscow, Prague, Rome and Brussels.

Jeszenszky Briefs Government on Soviet Accord

LD1511153391 Budapest MTI in English 1415 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 15 (MTI)—"The new Hungarian-Soviet basic agreement to be signed is worthy of the regained sovereignty of the Republic of Hungary, and makes it possible to conclude an agreement which can replace the hitherto system of friendship treaties which served to subjugate Hungary," it was reported at the session of the Hungarian Government in Budapest on Thursday.

The government heard a report presented by Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky on the content of the basic agreement. Government spokesman Balazs Laszlo briefed journalists about the foreign policy agenda of the government session, in Budapest on Friday.

The Hungarian and the Soviet side formulated a good agreement, one which is in harmony with the international norms, mainly with the documents of the Helsinki process, the Paris Charter, and which thereby intensifies Hungary's security. The agreement also creates a good basis for working out the planned agreements with the Russian and the Ukrainian republics.

Among others, the basic agreement sets down that the two sides are to settle the debated issues exclusively through peaceful means, and will refrain from using force, and the threat of such. The sides will respect the territorial integrity of each other, and state they have no territorial demands on each other. They also accept the obligation that they will not make their territories available to third parties for aggressive purposes against the other party to the contract. In case any danger threatens the security of either side, they shall immediately open consultations.

The lengthy debate on alliance affiliations has also been settled in a reassuring manner. The basic agreement would state that the agreement does not affect the agreements reached by the two sides with other states.

(Hungary has thus averted the so-called "Romanian clause", which would have implied the impairment of its freedom to conclude international agreements.) The basic agreement does not restrict Hungary's freedom to conclude agreements with the other republics of the Soviet Union.

Intensive coordination is in progress to set a date for signing the agreement. The spokesman said the Hungarian prime minister would like to link the signing of the agreement with his talks to be held with leaders of the Russian Republic. (Russian President Boris Yeltsin has been extended an invitation to visit Hungary.)

Russian Suspension of Crude Export Licenses Feared

LD1511234191 Budapest MTI in English 1911 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 15 (MTI)—Should the news about the suspension of all crude export licences by the Russian Government prove correct, Hungary would be serverely hit, Lajos Antal, trade manager of the Hungarian Oil Industrial PLC., told MTI's correspondent. The trade manager was reacting to Friday afternoon news agency reports from Moscow that the Russian deputy prime minister had announced the above plan, quoting as a reason the necessity of piling up sufficient reserves for Russia in winter. However, he stressed that for the time being the company has no concrete information from Russia that such a measure has really been introduced. He said they would enter into contact with their partners at the earliest opportunity, possibly on Monday.

Commerce Minister on Impact

LD1711185791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] [Announcer] Russia will not issue new oil and oil product export licenses until 1 January, and within 10 days the old ones will be re-examined. According to the latest economic direction issued by Yeltsin, in the future buyers will have to pay in hard currency, will have to pay more, and less oil will be avaliable. The question is how all this will affect Hungary, because as a consequence of the civil war in Yugoslavia we can only import oil from the east, because nothing is coming through the Adria pipelines. I asked Arpad Bakai, state secretary at the Ministry for Industry and Commerce, about this.

[Bakai] Unfortunately nothing, as far as the Adria pipeline is concerned. The situation with the "Friendship" pipeline, the Soviet pipeline, is that we have had to pay in hard currency for Soviet oil until now as well, so this in practice will not change.

How should we interpret the re-examination of the existing contracts? I think we should wait until we have the statements from the foreign trade companies engaged in oil trade.

If it is not possible to obtain oil from the Soviet side, because of the shortage of oil, there is another way we could get oil, namely through the so-called re-exchange trade [lecserelesi uezletek]. The essence of this is that we buy the oil, let us say in Iran, they deliver the oil through an Iranian pipeline to the Soviet Union, and we receive the corresponding quantity of oil through our own pipeline.

[Announcer] Yeltsin promised that oil would be more expensive?

[Bakai] We already buy the oil according to the Brent listing, which corresponds to the West European oil price listing. I think that Yeltsin's remark referred first to oil for internal trade between the Soviet republics, because we know that internal Soviet oil prices are very low indeed.

[Announcer] So we should not be alarmed at this statement?

[Bakai] I am not saying we should not be alarmed, it is best to be prepared for it. I must however state that our oil reserves are quite significant. If it did turn out after all that Soviet oil would cease to come over a longer period, we would have to prepare certain restriction measures.

[Announcer] So if there is no Russian oil, then with the suspension of the Adria pipeline we can in practice only count on Iranian oil.

[Bakai] If we succeed in completing the re-exchange deal. In addition, the last possible solution is delivery by rail and on the Danube by barges. This would, however, be significantly more expensive, because very substantial transportation costs would have to be taken into account.

Kupa's Talks With Ukrainian Financiers Previewed

LD1611040691 Budapest MTI in English 1721 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 15 (MTI)—During his visit to Kiev starting on Friday, Hungarian Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa is holding talks with the Ukrainian ministers of finance and foreign economy, as well as with the president of the Ukrainian National Bank, the Hungarian Finance Ministry told MTI on Friday.

Mihaly Kupa will also open the representation of the General Banking and Trust Co. Ltd. in Uzhgorod, the first of its kind in Sub-Carpathia. The bank, in cooperation with the Ukrainian Lesbank, will mainly be engaged in securing the financial background to Hungarian-Ukrainian business links and operating a free economic zone.

Jeszenszky Protests Calfa Statement on Interference

LD1611203791 Budapest MTI in English 1934 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 16 (MTI)—It does not serve the interests of friendly relations and contradicts the spirit of European cooperation and the Visegrad statement if anyone tries to drag Hungary into internal debates of Czechoslovakia by provoking fears, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky reportedly told Czechoslovak Ambassador to Hungary Rudolf Chmel today.

Chmel was summoned to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry in the wake of a statement by Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa broadcast by Czechoslovak television this week, Hungarian foreign affairs spokesman Janos Herman told MTI. It is very unfortunate to create the impression as if Hungary posed any kind of threat to its neighbours, Jeszenszky said. Jeszenszky requested Chmel to remind his government and the general public that Hungary respects its obligations laid down in documents signed in Helsinki and Paris.

Response to Romanian Remarks on Travel Restrictions

LD1611040391 Budapest MTI in English 1803 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 15 (MTI)—The Hungarian authorities will not revoke the restrictive measures adopted on October 4, 1991 to check border traffic, Janos Herman, spokesman for the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stated on Friday afternoon in response to the statement sent by the Romanian Embassy in Budapest to MTI. According to the document, the embassy was also authorized to declare that were the Hungarian side to cancel the restrictions, Romania would immediately follow suit.

Janos Herman pointed out that the Hungarian measures are binding to every foreign citizen, while the Romanian controls apply only to Hungarians travelling to Romania. Should Hungary fulfill the Romanian request, Romanian citizens would enjoy special preferences compared to those of other countries. Obviously, this is not a feasible solution. He added that the Hungarian measures are not new, only regulations in effect for a longer time are being consistently observed.

Incidentally, all other countries received the Hungarian measures with understanding.

Kadar on EC Treaty of Association Talks

LD1711043291 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Telephone interview with International Economics Minister Bela Kadar by correspondent Tamas Frey; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Frey] Mr. Minister. What happened during the past two days? You traveled to Brussels to initial our Treaty of Association, however, I was informed that some new elements arose during the talks. What happened?

[Kadar] On 13 November, representatives, or experts of the Community member states, raised certain new requirements which need further talks and the coordination of interests.

[Frey] Why could this happen?

[Kadar] We also were looking for an answer to this question yesterday. Obviously, during the talks on 11 November, when the G-24 were discussing the provision of aid here in Brussels, a certain alarm could be sensed on the part of some leaders that the integration of central and eastern Europe into the world economy and into the European economy is going to be a rather expensive task. This is a general background factor.

[Frey] Do you agree with those interpretations which explain this situation, by saying that when in fact a few weeks ago the EC and G-7 states decided that for them the creation of a common European economic region has priority, this was in fact a decision about the eastern European countries, about us, because they decide this was more important than our integration, and as a consequence a negotiating position appeared on the part of the EC that these treaties of association are purely demonstrating their political solidarity with us and not serious economic integration. Do you not think there was perhaps such a change?

[Kadar] The extension of the Community, its widening, is a long unresolved dispute of strategy, but I do not think that we need to deduce to this extend from the trends of big politics the present smaller surprises. I emphasize once more that what is in question here is not the whole agreement, but a large number of new proposals none of which by itself has an impact which can be regarded as major.

[Frey] These proposals concern agriculture or the Hungarian industry?

[Kadar] The new developments are largely of an agricultural nature. Naturally it is in our interest to get into a closer European circulation system, through our treaty of association, as soon as possible. But we cannot do this in the hope of a few days gain in such a way that to accept a larger number of proposals which would worsen the terms.

[Frey] You are saying that in the interests of a few days gain, the Hungarian Government does not want to make concessions. I was about to ask your view of the criticisms which say that in many case, in particular in the case of agricultural quotas, you already conceded a lot, perhaps to overtake Czechoslovakia or Poland, and to ensure we should be the first to sign such a treaty. Is not what is in the background that it now became clear that

the EC wants to sign the treaty of association with these three countries on the same day? So it is no point hurrying now. You now do not accept terms which perhaps two weeks ago you would have accepted. And the EC countries raised these?

[Kadar] When the negotiations end and we initial the treaty, I will present the figures. Of course I can do so now as well, to say what we accepted so far, and what we did not, along with the advantages arising from these. There is no question of us accepting more in any area in order to overtake anyone.

Jeszenszky Discusses European Issues, Gulf Ties

JN1711182891 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 15 Nov 91 p 14

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Muhammad Sa'id in Budapest; date not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Sa'id] Do the national conflicts in central Europe—such as the tense situation in Yugoslavia and the regional problems resulting from the question of minorities' rights in Romania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, some West European nations, and the Soviet Union—merit a new global approach to these problems via a peace conference?

[Jeszenszky] Despite their seriousness, such matters need not be approached through a world peace conference. However, they do require a new international understanding with a new reading of the EC documents, which stipulate the protection of minorities' rights and state that national aspirations should not be restrained. Although the approach to ethnic issues today differs from that of the past, the Yugoslav crisis signifies the importance of the new situation, which requires a more liberal understanding in light of the factors and considerations stipulated by the Helsinki pact on European security.

As a result of the critical situation in Yugoslavia, as of the time of this interview, over 47,000 refugees have arrived in Hungary from the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, fleeing military suppression and war. [passage omitted]

[Sa'id] Is the situation in Yugoslavia having any other repercussions on your country, aside from refugees and the situation of the Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia?

[Jeszenszky] The matter has many repercussions apart from the issue of refugees arriving from Croatia and the existence of a significant Hungarian minority in the Vojvodina region. As Hungary's trade relations with the world pass through Yugoslavia, and because Hungary, like Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Switzerland, is a landlocked country with no outlet to the sea, we require safe access that is free of tension and does not affect our overseas trade relations. In fact, the oil pipeline that used to bring us Gulf oil from Yugoslav ports along the Adriatic coast has fallen into disrepair as a result of the current war in Yugoslavia.

This has not only had an impact on economic conditions, but also undermines foreign policy concepts because Yugoslavia had played an important role as part of the Nonaligned Movement. This role has been suspended in light of the deteriorating situation in Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

[Sa'id] Before the downfall of the communist regime in Hungary, the authorities proclaimed their recognition of the rights of the Islamic community in your country. However, despite the liberal policy currently prevailing in Hungary, this community still does not have an Islamic center or mosque in a capital city as large as Budapest. Muslims there have no place where they can conduct their prayers. In your opinion, how can this be resolved?

[Jeszenszky] [passage omitted] The Muslim community in Hungary has a religious leader, Dr. 'Abd-al-Rahman Mihalfi [name as published], who has submitted an application to legalize his group. This community carries out its activities and the government neither fears it nor opposes it. We know that they are in the process of building an Islamic center and a mosque. We believe they can do so because all religions are treated on the same footing in Hungary. We do not know of any reason that would prevent them from establishing a mosque in Budapest, and the government does not interfere in the administrative work of local councils. [passage omitted]

[Sa'id] What is new in your country's position vis a vis joining the EC?

[Jeszenszky] We are aware that joining the EC is a bridge which we must cross. We are also aware of the fact that we must work hard and accomplish many things to attain full EC membership. We will not accomplish these things if we are offered this membership as some sort of prize. We must achieve membership through the assessment and judgment of our situation, and by acting to modernize the country. Hungary is proceeding toward attaining candidate-member status in the EC as of next January. After that, then we will seek full membership.

With regard to politics, there has been a complete change in the democratic trend with the majority party achieving parliamentary stability, and the clarity of the strong opposition's role. The Hungarian opposition has a clear voice. No one can deny that there is a strong opposition in Hungary, or that there is criticism of the democratic experiment we are experiencing. These issues, as witnessed by the wise men of Western Europe, are taken into consideration when joining the European Parliament and the EC.

Constitutional change has been achieved. Democratic and political change has been realized, and economic diversity is now within reach. This was achieved through free elections that began in 1990. It has been agreed to

hold elections again in 1994, if no reason for holding them earlier arises. These are the main lines that mark the road toward attaining social prosperity, and political and economic freedom.

[Sa'id] How do you perceive the security situation in the Arabian Gulf, especially in light of the planned Gulf security system?

[Jeszenszky] First of all, I would like to say that Hungary backed international law and world consensus with regard to what took place in the Gulf after the occupation of Kuwait. We supported Kuwait's right to liberation. We also supported improving things after liberation. Hungary has good relations with most countries of the region, such as the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait.

I believe that the Gulf states have always shared good relations and peaceful understanding. Hence, we are for stability, peace, growth, and development in this region.

We follow their cooperation through the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC]. We also follow the amity and cooperation between Gulf countries with regard to inter-Arab and international relations.

There are important issues related to Gulf security; security of the region's states through understanding and the establishment of sound relations that reject aggression and the occupation of other people's land. This understanding prevails in relations between neighborly countries, including most Arab states, and non-Arab countries, for example Middle Eastern countries such as Iran and Turkey.

Hungary seeks greater economic, political, and cultural cooperation with the region's states. In this regard, we understand the priorities and importance of establishing a security cooperation system in this region through our recognition of the Damascus Declaration, which includes the six GCC members in addition to Egypt and Syria.

Hungary has diplomatic missions in Abu Dhabi and Kuwait, and we are interested in establishing diplomatic relations with the rest of the region, especially Saudi Arabia.

Hungary's relations with the Arab and Gulf states are good, and are developing in light of the wise and balanced understanding in Hungarian foreign relations which have come about since we abandoned the ancient ideologies and moved outside the domain of the policies that used to govern us, which mirrored relations between the two previous international camps. This resulted in a big change in policies, which we express through our respect and appreciation for the civilized Arab presence, and through our understanding, appreciation, and welcoming of Arab investment as part of the influx of foreign investment in Hungary. The volume of foreign investment in Hungary alone is equal to half the total foreign investment in all of central and eastern Europe. [passage omitted]

Horn Addresses Socialist Party Conference Opening

LD1611204791 Budapest MTI in English 1752 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 16 (MTI)—"Whether the government's mistakes were due to a lack of professionalism or they were part of their policy" could not be decided for a long time. By now, however, we know that they are going along clear guidelines. They want to pursue rightist, conservative policies full of anachronisms, Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) President Gyula Horn said here today, at the opening of a two-day national HSP conference.

"Never has the need been so great for democratic forces to join hands," Horn said. The governing coalition fails to fulfil its promises given to the electorate, Horn said, recalling that at the time of the 1990 elections all parties declared the building of a social market economy as their goal but none of them has made genuine steps towards its realization.

The socialists want to play the part of a constructive opposition. With their activity, their professional knowledge and experience, they aim at helping to create a social market economy. A precondition of achieving that aim is to complete privatization, with employees also having a share in ownership, Horn said.

At the conference, several participants voiced protest against the anti-democratic ideas of a recent law lifting the statute of limitation on crimes committed between 1944 and 1990 but not persecuted due to political considerations.

Smallholders' Torgyan on Coalition, Election Date

LD1611224591 Budapest MTI in English 1729 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 16 (MTI)—"In Hungary, political power is in the hands of a narrow circle that ignores the people's wishes, while economic processes are influenced from abroad as Hungary has to fulfil all requirements of international business circles in order to keep the economy going," Independent Smallholders' Party (ISP) President Jozsef Torgyan said at an ISP Congress here today, summing up political and economic developments of the past 18 months.

What the ISP wants is not a capitalist but a welfare society, Torgyan said. In order to achieve that, it is indispensable to accumulate capital and implement wage and price reforms. The most important task is, however, to give priority to the interests of former rightful owners in the course of clarifying ownership relations, he stated.

Leaving the ruling coalition is not a definite goal of the ISP, but the party wants to play a part in governing the country that corresponds to its political weight, Torgyan said. "Whether the coalition stays as it is, will have to be decided by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall. He will have to think it over whether he is willing to enter into talks with the ISP and make the coalition work," Torgyan said at a press briefing during a break at the Congress.

At present, there are no communication channels between Antall and him, Torgyan said. "We send messages to each other through the media, and this is not the ISP's fault," he added. If the ISP is excluded from the coalition, the government will not have enough backing from the people. If, on the other hand, the government wants to keep up an appearance of a coalition with the ISP by working with politicians who no longer have the ISP's backing, it will break the rules of parliamentary democracy, Torgyan said. The Smallholders' national leadership is ready to hold a board meeting to discuss possibilities of staying in the coalition and the issue of holding parliamentary elections ahead of schedule if the need arises, Torgyan said.

Defense Ministry Reorganization Under Way

AU1711154291 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 14 Nov 91 p 3

["F.P."-signed report: "Reorganizations at the Defense Ministry"]

[Text] Our information relating to considerable reorganizations being carried out at the Defense Ministry has proved to be correct.

Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman for the Defense Ministry, told our correspondent that the reorganization of tasks included the clarification of tasks and during this process, the Defense Ministry would take over some tasks from the Hungarian Army. It is possible that, in the course of this, the previously unified security policy and international department will be split in two and replaced by a defense policy department and an international department.

Colonel Laszlo Botz, former head of the aforementioned department who was appointed on 1 August will remain in his post, but it is not known yet who the head of the possible other department will be. It is possible that a civilian expert will take up this post.

According to our information, the name of Ambassador Istvan Gyarmathy has emerged. He is the leader of the Hungarian negotiating delegation at the Vienna disarmament talks. The name of Istvan Kormendi, a leader at the Foreign Affairs Ministry, is also mentioned.

National Bank's Sandor on Collecting Debts Owed

AU1511112591 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 Nov 91 p 3

[Interview with Bela Sandor, head of International Bank Relations Department at the Hungarian National Bank, by Peter Dunai; place and date not given: "A Race for the CEMA Dollars"]

[Text] Hungary not only has tremendous debts of its own. It also has outstanding debts owed by other countries. At the time, Hungary gave credit to these countries out of political or economic considerations. We asked Bela Sandor what would happen to these debts and whether Hungary was indeed selling the debts owed to it.

[Sandor] We are not planning to sell our debts. It is true though that a company has bought Hungarian debts in relation to China. It is also true that we are trying to sell these debts together with Hungarian companies that delivered goods and did not receive payment. I am talking about business loans to third world countries. However, this is a business so I cannot go into details, because no one likes to show his cards.

[Dunai] It is known that there is a secondary market that deals in countries' debts. What is the essence of this market?

[Sandor] In practice, international banks deal with the selling of these debts. At one time, it was possible to buy Polish debts for 12 percent. In other words, the buyer could receive a $100 promissory note for $12. If he bought it for this amount, he did very well because demand for these notes later increased as a result of negotiations between the Polish Government and the West, and the price of these notes increased to 20 percent of their nominal value. However, there are some "hopeless" countries whose promissory notes are not bought or sold on the secondary market. Quite a few black African countries belong to this group. If Hungary has this kind of demand then the Hungarian National Bank [MNB] and the affected companies together try to turn these notes into money, even by the debtor paying through deliveries of goods.

[Dunai] According to the information of a Soviet newspaper, Soviet debts have also emerged on the secondary market, at a 50 percent price. The question is whether it would be worth selling our Soviet debts of 2 billion [currency not specified] even at half price?

[Sandor] The secondary market is narrower than that. It would not be able to do anything with billions; deals can rather be done in the range of millions of U.S. dollars. There might, by chance, be Soviet or even Hungarian debt notes on this market, but there is no constant trade in them. Bulgarian debts are quoted at very low prices on this market, in the awareness that Bulgaria is forced to reschedule its debts. However, if Sofia starts serious negotiations with its creditors, namely the members of

the Paris Club, then presumably the price of its notes will increase and there will be people who push the price up. That is the law of the market.

[Dunai] What is the situation of the political loans that we, at the time, gave to other countries to, as it were, strengthen their socialist orientation?

[Sandor] They were actual goods deliveries. According to the MNB ledgers, we did not give money loans, that is financial loans. There are three different kinds of credit. If we clearly gave a government loan to a country out of political considerations then the Hungarian Government paid for the goods to the delivering company. In the case of business loans, the company bears the risk. Finally, there is a bank loan that actually covers delivery of goods. Contrary to public belief, we do not have frozen demands in the range of billions [currency not specified]. According to the MNB, our active debts resulting from exports to 13 developing countries amount to some $500 million. The already expired demands amount to around half as much, some $250 million and we have continuous negotiations to settle these debts.

[Dunai] Which countries owe money to Hungary?

[Sandor] For example, Mozambique, Angola, Egypt, and Nigeria. In the case of the latter, "socialist orientation" was not the aim of the Hungarian creditors in the 1970's. Nigeria was a prospective oil exporting country where Hungarian machinery and products could be sold. Unfortunately, Nigeria was forced to have its debts rescheduled, therefore, the repayment of our export credit was stopped.

[Dunai] And Libya?

[Sandor] We do not sell the Libyan debts on the secondary market. Moreover, selling on the secondary market is not the only way. There are many other methods to attempt to recover frozen debts. For example, debtors can gradually repay the debts by goods deliveries or we can sell debt owed to us to someone who wants to invest in the debtor country. If we apply the conditions of the Paris Club, then we have to cancel two-thirds of the debt immediately and we have to reschedule the remaining one-third for a very long-term repayment period. Is it worth doing that? It is better to have a smaller but secure amount today then to have a somewhat larger but insecure amount tomorrow or the day after.

TV Chairman Corrects Misreported Program Changes

LD1611093491 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] The television chairman [Elemer Hankiss] today sent the following note to Istvan G. Palfy, our chief editor:

The evening edition of "TV News" misrepresented much of what was said at the Thursday, 14 November, press briefing:

A. I did not say—indeed, I do not have the right to make such statements—that "Daytime TV" ["Nap TV"] will cease. "Daytime TV" is an independent undertaking with respect to which I did not make any kind of statement.

B. I did not say that "End of the Day Balance Sheet" [Esti Egyenleg] will end.

C. I did not say, because factually it is not true, that the criticism received concerning the "Newsreel" provided the incentive for the start of a second newsreel program. Naturally, I always pay attention to critical observations, but in my decisions I am guided by a number of other considerations, first of all the desire to serve what I perceive to be the interests of society.

D. I did not say we will be starting a second newsreel program on Channel 2. What I said was that we will start a second, independent newsreel program, and I will decide during further discussions in what order the two programs will appear on the two channels.

[Signed] Elemer Hankiss

Coalition Chooses Olszewski as Prime Minister

LD1511161591 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1500 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Here is some last-minute news, ladies and gentlemen. A moment ago this note was brought to us in the studio: Attorney Jan Olszewski has been recognized as the most suitable candidate for prime minister by the representatives of the five parties trying to set up a joint government.

During their consultations, held at the Center Alliance headquarters, it was stated that at present, in the political, economic, and social situation that exists, only Jan Olszewski is equal to the responsibilities of prime minister.

The next consultation meeting will take place on 18 November.

Olszewski Stresses Need for New Economic Policy

LD1611042391 Warsaw PAP in English 2305 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 15—Jan Olszewski, the "Centre Right" candidate for prime minister, said in a television interview on Friday night that the present economic policy was worn out, and that the Polish economy was in depression not recession.

Olszewski was asked to form a government by Lech Walesa in December of last year but resigned from the task in a row over the role of Leszek Balcerowicz in the new cabinet. In Friday's interview Olszewski summed up his views on Balcerowicz saying, "It is not a question of the person, but the conception".

He said that last year's proposed "breakthrough" government based on sweeping changes in the state apparatus was still needed. He thought that the public patience would come to an end because "quite numerous groups of people have difficulty in managing their domestic budgets, in meeting their basic needs".

Olszewski said that for him decommunisation was connected to transforming the state apparatus and all the structures of public life in Poland. "They were built in the period of communist governments for the special needs of those rulers. They were not established to serve society but to subdue it," he explained and added that he thought that individual criminal acts against the public were a side issue.

In practice, Olszewski said, decommunisation meant introducing "clear criteria in personnel policy, through opening up the possibility of normal advancement".

He ascribed the numerous recent financial scandals that have come to light to the stagnant structures of public life and opined they had existed under the previous regime too but now people were free to disclose them.

As for the church gaining too much influence in state affairs, Olszewski said that there were already laws concerning church-state relations which had not been concretely criticised by anyone.

Olszewski criticised present foreign policy saying that there was no coherent Eastern direction in it. Relations with the east relied too much on spontaneity, he explained, giving the tardy recognition of Lithuanian independence as an example.

Describing his own political standpoint, Olszewski identified himself as being in the "independence camp" and said that the Christian Democratic current was not alien to him.

Government Signs Agreement With Solidarity Miners

LD1611224891 Warsaw PAP in English 2037 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 16—Participants in a general meeting of the Solidarity National Mining Commission in Katowice on Saturday suspended a strike to be staged in mines on Monday November 18. The decision was influenced by agreement reached in Warsaw during the talks of the mining Solidarity with government earlier in the day. A protocol of decisions, signed by Labour Minister Michal Boni and Solidarity Chairman Marian Krzaklewski, contains solutions to all postulates forwarded by miners. The document says that regulations of the law on solving collective disputes are not applied to the talks that were held. The parties confirmed the need to immediately start work on agreement regulating a procedure of solving disputable questions in contacts between trade unions and the goverment. Labour Vice Minister Andrzej Baczkowski said that a meeting to discuss this question would be held on Monday. As for the miners' postulate to introduce a separate system of old-age pensions, participants in the Warsaw talks agreed that a draft law on social insurance of miners and their families would soon be submitted to trade unionists for consultation. As for ensuring economic and welfare guarantees to employees of the shut down mines, the debaters decided that restructuring changes would be accompanied by drawing up protective programmes.

Head of the Solidarity National Mining Commission Waclaw Marszewski sized up the results of the 7-hour talks at the Labour Ministry with the participation of representatives of the Industry and Finance Ministries as a "realistic compromise that opens up the road to further negotiations." Most miners came out for staging the strike in referenda and polls conducted in mines of the Katowice and the Walbrzych Provinces on Friday. The decision by the general meeting of the Solidarity National Mining Commission in Katowice to suspend the strike was made as a result of a stormy discussion and after a telephone report on results of the Warsaw talks.

Deputy Defense Minister on Disarmament Problems

LD1611035591 Warsaw PAP in English 2222 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 15—Deputy Minister for National Defence Janusz Onyszkiewicz said Friday that Western Europe was underestimating the problem of the ratification of agreements on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and the reduction of conventional arms by states which will emerge from the Soviet Union, like the Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldavia and the Caucasian republics.

"It is not clear who can ratify such agreements and who will eventually be bound by them", he said upon his return from Rotterdam where he had attended an international conference on economic and political aspects of European security.

Onyszkiewicz also reiterated a warning voiced earlier by head of the Ministry Piotr Kolodziejczyk calling for deliberation in appointing the new minister for national defence. At the same time, Onyszkiewicz excluded the possibility of himself assuming the post.

Delay in Initialling EC Agreement 'Beneficial'

LD1611212391 Warsaw PAP in English 2049 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 16—Jaroslaw Mulewicz of the Polish Foreign Ministry told newsmen in Warsaw on Saturday that a few-day delay in initialling Poland's association with European Communities turned out to be beneficial for Poland. The delay does not jeopardize mid-December as date for signing the agreement but is an opportunity to expand the deal, particularly to increase the exports quotas for Polish Cinquecento cars in exchange for greater imports of citruses to Poland. Speaking of the benefits from the Poland-EC cooperation Mulewicz mentioned above all its being assymmetrical, which means that during the first 5 years Poland will be given more concessions for exports than it can offer to the Community partners. The agreement will also stabilize Polish economy and make it more predictable. Intertwined in EC system, Poland will have to consult any major changes with Brussels. Also the Polish law will be harmonized with EC standards starting next year. Mulewicz believes this stability and legal compatibility will attract foreign capital so badly needed by Poland. On the other hand, EC and EFTA countries offer a market of over 400 million consumers, so important for wide and lively economic cooperation.

SDRP Council on CPSU Funds, Political Plans

AU1811090291 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 12 Nov 91 pp 1-2

[Artur Siedlarek report: "Revelations From Moscow and Revelationary Election Results "]

[Text] On Sunday, the Executive Council of the Social Democratic Party of the Republic of Poland [SDRP] held its first meeting since the elections. It was supposed to be a joyous meeting of election victors, for no one is disappointed with the results achieved by the Alliance of the Democratic Left, but the mood was somber on account of the latest "revelations" from Moscow.

Several days ago, reports in the Soviet press had accused the SDRP and TRYBUNA of using funds acquired by M.F. Rakowski [Polish United Workers Party first secretary] from the CPSU. A further accusation was made on Sunday that SDRP General Secretary Leszek Miller had proposed the setting up of a "world communist business center" in Warsaw. To put it in simple terms, the Russian paper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA has accused the SDRP of setting up laundries for "dirty" communist money.

Miller, mentioned by name in the Soviet accusations, described the resultant situation as very serious. "I did not make any decisions concerning this unfortunate loan. As for contacts with the CPSU, all of them were completely open, and we informed the state authorities of their content. The training seminar, described by the Soviet press as secret training for financial crooks, took place in the government hostel in Parkowa Street, guarded by the Army, and was carried out by distinguished Polish economists. I swear that the SDRP and TRYBUNA did not take any money from abroad," concluded L. Miller.

Miller offered to give up his post as SDRP secretary general, but the Executive Council dismissed the idea. "Let us not make a sacrifice out of Miller, for there is no point in doing so," said one speaker. "Tomorrow they might attack [SDRP Chairman] Kwasniewski and the next day the rest of us."

Aleksander Kwasniewski lamented the increasing propaganda campaign against the SDRP. "With our election results, we have obviously upset some people," he said. He considered the idea of a broad Alliance of the Democratic Left appropriate to the present situation, but said that including leftist post-Solidarity forces in the Alliance would not be feasible because the elections have shown that these forces do not enjoy major popular support.

Kwasniewski spoke about his meeting with Prime Minister-designate Bronislaw Geremek that morning. "Right now there is no question of our joining the government. We can only render this government our support; that is all."

Kwasniewski said that the latest press attacks on the left could isolate left-wing deputies in Parliament. L. Miller disagreed: "Such an isolation would not be dangerous, but an isolation from society would be. However, there is no danger of that happening, as the election results clearly show."

A. Kwasniewski also discussed his latest talk with the president, and said that less emotional assessments of Lech Walesa's conduct should be made in future. He also listed the SDRP's most important tasks for the immediate future:

—Preserving the unity of the Alliance of the Democratic Left;

—Expanding the SDRP;

—Addressing the SDRP program to milieus in which the party's position is weak (e.g. the workers);

—Attracting young people to join, because that is the only way to safeguard the party's future;

—Engaging in activity aimed at bringing about the acceptance of the SDRP by the most important social democratic parties of Europe.

The future of the Alliance of the Democratic Left was the subject of a heated discussion at the SDRP Executive Council session. Most of the members concurred that a unified Alliance is essential in Parliament, but some said that appearing under the "Alliance of the Democratic Left" label in Parliament is not advantageous to the SDRP, the Alliance's largest component. If the SDRP were to appear under its own name instead, it might win much more social support. The idea of making the Alliance of the Democratic Left institutional was condemned as likely to cause a serious weakening of the SDRP. L. Miller said that it is irresponsible to discuss the Alliance's institutionalization, if there are no guarantees that the SDRP will attain a higher political quality.

"The elections have shown that we are the only Polish left-wing party that counts," said Professor Jerzy Wiatr. "The prestige of SDRP activists will enable other Alliance component parties to join the Sejm." There were many who agreed with him.

There was a lot of criticism of the All-Polish Trade Union Accord [OPZZ], which was accused of being a coalition partner "only on paper," but some Council members, including A. Kwasniewski, protested against the discrediting of any Alliance component after the elections.

Deputy Jozef Oleksy called for a serious discussion on how to exploit the election success. He said it would be political suicide for the left wing to join the government at the present moment, no matter how high the honor. Oleksy disagreed with the SDRP stance on decommunization. "I have no intention of defending every single former PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] member, especially not those who are guilty of crimes." Kwasniewski agreed, but added that he was opposed to persecuting people just because they belonged to the PZPR.

Deputy Wieslaw Kaczmarek accused the SDRP leadership of pursuing a misguided foreign policy based on that of the old PZPR and its foreign contacts. Professor Iwinski said this is not true. "Who we cooperate with is not just a question of our intentions, but mainly a question of a desire by others to cooperate with us," said Professor Iwinski.

The cry, "Things cannot continue this way," was to be heard several times during the meeting. "People are tired of belonging to a party that has adopted a 'beleaguered fortress' syndrome," said one speaker. Another said: "If the party wants to be important in the eyes of the people, it must involve itself with the genuine problems of the people."

In conclusion, Kwasniewski said that no one will vote for a party that does nothing but defend itself against slander. "We must do all we can to convince people that we are a party that is struggling for the interests of workers," said the SDRP chairman.

PAP Cites Soviet Attache on CP Headquarters

LD1211210491 Warsaw PAP in English 1638 GMT 12 Nov 91

[PAP transmits a service message killing this item at 1927 GMT on 12 November. The "corrected PAP version" was published in the 13 November East Europe DAILY REPORT, on page 26, column one, under the headline "Soviet Embassy Denies Role in CP Business Center"]

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 12—According to press attache of the Soviet Embassy in Poland Nikolay Trutsuk, the latest reports in the Soviet press concerning the organization of "headquarters to coordinate commercial activity of communist parties" in Warsaw were based on reliable sources.

The KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA daily reported last Saturday that such a business centre had been set up in the Polish capital following a proposal allegedly forwarded by leader of the (post-communist) Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP) Leszek Miller.

"Both the SOVETSAKYA ROSSIYA and the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA quoted archives of the Soviet Communist Party. Certainly some of the historians, lawyers and journalists have access to them but I can hardly comment on their interpretation of the documents," Trutsuk said.

Meanwhile, the Polish State Protection Office (UOP) remains silent on the issue. Spokeswoman for the office Irena Popoff said Tuesday she had nothing to add to the statement given to PAP on November 7. She stated then "the UOP was carrying proceedings to explain the circumstances of cooperation between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Social Democratic Party, including their economic and financial links."

PAP Rejects Attache's Charges

LD1511081991 Warsaw PAP in English 2155 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 14—PAP deems charges by Soviet press attache Nikolay Trutsuk concerning PAP dispatches on the Soviet Embassy's response to reports on commercial cooperation of communist parties and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland groundless. The charges were published in the TRYBUNA paper, organ of the Social-Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP).

As for the first question, the incorrectly worded PAP dispatch was withdrawn after a telephone talk with Nikolay Trutsuk and PAP broadcast not only its corrected version but also the full text of the statement by the Soviet attache, thus meeting all obligations agreed upon with the Soviet diplomat.

In the Thursday issue of TRYBUNA, Nikolay Trutsuk said that the "ambiguous meaning of the report remained." In fact, after withdrawing the first report, PAP service featured practically only literal quotations of words uttered by the Soviet attache.

Equally groundless is a charge with the alleged omission by PAP Moscow correspondents of Soviet Ambassador Kashlev's sentence announcing the withdrawal of all Soviet combat units by the end of 1992. Actually, the PAP dispatch carried this report.

Iliescu Views Domestic, International Issues

AU1511192291 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0808 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Introductory statement by President Ion Iliescu at news conference on current domestic and international issues, in Bucharest on—live]

[Text] Ladies and Gentlemen: Allow me to speak on a few domestic and international issues in a short statement before the news conference. I would like to begin with a key political moment in the country's life, namely the fact that the activity of the Constituent Assembly for drafting and adopting the country's constitution is drawing to a close. This is the mandate that the electorate entrusted to this body one and a half years ago; therefore, the Parliament with its two chambers also functions as the Constituent Assembly. As is well known, it has carried out hard work to draft the constitution. As a matter of fact, some people raised the question whether the procedure adopted by Romania's Parliament has not been too scrupulous, as it has stretched this drafting activity for too long. As you know, the Bulgarian National Assembly adopted a constitution in some four months; this included the draft's being submitted to Parliament, the draft being discussed and adopted, after which new elections were held. I heard that the 1923 constitution was adopted in 16 (?months).

The Romanian Parliament has been discussing the draft constitution for more than one year. Is that good or bad? I believe it is good. By this I mean that the procedure adopted by Romania's Parliament, by the Constituent Assembly, including the prolonged discussions, was primarily a democratic procedure. Let us remember that we are working out a new constitution based on totally new principles, which lays the foundation of the state of law in a modern concept. In my opinion, Romania's Parliament did well to proceed in this way. First, it set up a commission of senators and deputies that was later joined by a group of journalists and experts in constitutional law who, in the first three months, only produced studies and documentation on constitutions currently existing in the world and on our historical experience in this sphere. They gathered information on trends in contemporary constitutional law. They had many meetings on the subject and visited countries in Europe and other continents. The commission invited specialists and experts with whom discussions were conducted on this matter. A seminar was also held in the fall of last year on issues pertaining to current trends in international law. Therefore, the commission gathered information and documentation in connection with the requirements of a modern constitution. It was a real school for experts. On this basis, they worked out the constitutionsl theses that laid emphasis on basic problems and principles that should be reflected in the constitution. The theses were published and, for two months, people thought about, examined, and familiarized themselves with these theses, after which, beginning last February, the Parliament discussed them over a period of some 5 months and agreed on basic issues. Then, the commission drafted, with expertise, the final form of the respective text that was again submitted for the Parliament's examination for a month, after which detailed discussions began on the drafting of the constitution, article by article. At last, we are now in the final stage.

Therefore, this has meant very scrupulous work overall. However, I believe that, in this respect, the process of discussing the constitution over such a long period was also an opportunity for the schooling, so to say, of our parliamentarians, a lesson in democracy and the principles of the state of law, for them and for the general public, which closely followed the entire unfolding of these debates. Therefore, I would positively assess the methods employed by Romania's Parliament in this matter.

Likewise, all this procedure, though clumsy at times, was profoundly democratic. I consider the resulting constitution, which the Parliament will probably adopt next week, as the collective work of the representatives of all political forces and all groupings represented in Parliament. In spite of a certain amount of controversy, which is only natural in a democratic process of discussion—occasionally the exchanges became pretty hot—the adopted procedure was the most efficient one, since the democratic method emphasizes the most valuable ideas and allows people to think things over and eventually adopt what they consider as best suited for the occasion. One can say that this new constitution will be a most valuable document, one that can compare to what is most advanced and progressive in contemporary thinking about the constitution, the state of law, and modern fundamental law.

A second issue I would like to tackle now is the Stolojan government and the issue of reform.

First, you remember that the government's (?declared task) was to prepare the elections, not to tackle the difficult problems of economic reform. Any (?fears) along these lines were proved wrong. On the contrary, in the activity carried out in this short period of time, the Stolojan government proved its decisiveness and resolution in tackling the difficult problems of this process of transition and this stage of economic reform. It tackled with courage, coherence, seriousness, professionalism, and broad openness such difficult problems as the unification of the leu's exchange rate, the balancing of the relationship between salaries and prices, the start of the government-initiated detailed negotiations on this matter, and the concurrent tackling of the very difficult problems facing the national economy at this start of winter due to energy shortages.

Concerning the unification of the leu's exchange rate, this was an important part of the economic reform and an absolutely essential condition for unblocking the economy. The leu's dual rate was causing new economic-financial blockages that were felt by economic enterprises staying idle and by the inefficient activity in some

enterprises, on top of the already existing difficulties caused by productive units in the basic branches that consume a high level of energy and raw materials. I do not want to dwell on these matters, which were the subject of broad discussions, including the representatives of the press. The prime minister and the representatives of economic ministries and banking units gave detailed explanations in this respect.

As for the difficulties in the energy sector, we are bearing the costs of the accumulation of several unfavorable developments, such as the development over the past 10 years of high power-consuming branches, which raised power consumption to levels that can no longer be supported by the national economy. At the same time, national oil production has diminished from about 14,000,000 tonnes of oil—our gross production at one point—to under 7,000,000 tonnes; the national production of natural gas has decreased from some 35 billion cubic meters a few years ago to some 25 billion cubic meters this year. The production of coal, in general, and of energy-producing coal, in particular, is about half of the production of 1989, which in itself was a year of crisis that led to the overthrow of the old structures.

All this was happening at a time when we were witnessing the dissolution of CEMA's economic system, which also caused malfunctions in ensuring important sources of energy and raw materials for our country. Another cause was the Gulf crisis, which for Romania meant the cut off of oil imports from Iraq and Kuwait [words indistinct]. To all this, one should add the lack of hard currency to compensate for the lack of these resources with purchases of oil and fuel oil from elsewhere. Therefore, the unification of the national currency's exchange rates is also meant as a measure to facilitate not only the financial unblocking, but also to ensure the hard currency resources for imports of oil, particularly fuel oil, over the forthcoming difficult winter period.

What is certain is that we are passing through a difficult and hard period that is accentuated by the forthcoming cold winter season with its higher energy consumption demands. Only the data released by RENEL [Romania's Power Network] Company reveal that consumption in thermal power stations [word indistinct] amounts to some 1,000,000 tonnes of fuel oil per month. A tonne of fuel oil is obtained from about 3 tonnes of oil. Thus, oil processing in refineries produces three basic items: gasoline, diesel oil, and fuel oil. Fuel oil is about a third of the end-product obtained from oil processing. Therefore, just to ensure the necessary quantities of fuel oil for 6 months in the stations using fuel oil, we would need some 1,000,000 tonnes of fuel oil per month, that is 6,000,000 tonnes of fuel oil, which means the processing of approximately 20 million tonnes of oil. Let me remind you that national production only totals some 7,000,000 million tonnes. We have refining capacities for 35,000,000 tonnes. This year we will process about 17 million tonnes in our refineries, that is 10,000,000 tonnes more than the national production, which are services for other companies. If we had possessed hard currency at the start of the year, we could have ensured the entire quantity of fuel oil from oil processing to meet fuel oil requirements for the winter period. We did not have these resources. We were not even able to hold on to all the fuel oil produced in our country. The processing of a tonne of oil brings 12 dollars—a good price internationally, I was told—but this covers only a quarter of the proper value of the fuel oil obtained and, for lack of hard currency resources, we were not even able to keep the fuel oil we had in our refineries. Therefore, we are making strenuous efforts to use the hard currency arriving now to reduce as much as possible the negative consequences of the lack of energy resources.

In these circumstances, I would like to make an appeal for support and understanding for the efforts that the government must undertake to alleviate, as much as possible, these negative effects on the economy and on people's lives. Regarding these economic difficulties, urgent measures are required, some of which are fatally unpopular, such as the increase in the price of gasoline. However, as you can see, the government has also envisaged protective measures, by introducing gasoline quotas at a price of 50 lei per liter, which is a protected price, much below the actual cost of gasoline. The free price of gasoline must be aligned with prices in neighboring countries because, right now, we are faced with oil shortages for energy and for chemical and petrochemical enterprises, on the one hand, while at the same time large quantities of gasoline have crossed the border, particularly into Hungary and Yugoslavia, because the difference in prices was too high. At the European level, the cost of a liter of gasoline is close to one dollar, some 80 to 90 cents.

Therefore, the free price should take into account the comparable prices in the countries around us. Last night, somebody was saying that with the price of gasoline in German marks, for instance—I do not know how much that may be—I do not know how many tonnes of gasoline a German can buy with his monthly salary. Well, why did that person not ask himself what Germany's labor productivity is, what the value of the national income per capita may be? One should only raise the problem of comparable prices in keeping with the possibilities of the national economy in question. Consequently, if we want to have incomes that compare with those of the developed countries, we must have an economy that compares with those of the developed countries, from the point of view of productive potential, national income, and national income per capita, that is, the productivity and efficiency levels of the national economy. This is the key issue, which is also the subject of the future realignment of the economy on a new basis.

In this respect, aside from the difficult tasks that the government must face in this period—for instance, it has to provide solutions for various current issues—one should not ignore the long-term problems. Governments come and go, the parties are making preparations for

electoral campaigns, and the country's economic and social problems are inevitably approached from an electoral angle; but the country needs a coherent program, coherent thinking, and a long-term national strategy for the development of the national economy. Therefore, I valued the initiative by the National Economic Research Institute to start the basic work of drafting a strategy for the development of the national economy, with the participation of a broad circle of experts that will thus comprise, so to say, the activity of about 1,000 experts from all branches of the national economy at the beginning of last year—economists in the sphere of macroeconomics and all economic branches, lawyers, sociologists, other specialists, and managers from basic units—who mapped out the transition to the market economy and laid the foundation of the governmental program for economic reform.

This was immediately after the December revolution; hence, they examined the structures and mechanisms of the Romanian economy as it was inherited from the old regime, a supercentralized economy with central planning mechanisms, and so forth, including the phenomena of crisis that caused the social explosion at the end of 1989. One should now make a thorough analysis of the current economic situation, which is characterized by the overlapping of two crises: the one that was inherited and the one associated with the transition process of the past two years—which has generated new distortions and new sources of contradictions and blockage. Therefore, we should examine the overall effects of the [word indistinct] of the structures that caused the initial crisis, and we should also study the new phenomena and sources of difficulties, in order to clarify our thinking on the strategy to be followed, on the scheduling of priorities and of all measures required to implement the new economic mechanisms and new structures of the national economy, and about ways and means to achieve its long-term balance and integration into the world economy. I believe that the institute's new work is of utmost importance; it must enjoy the support of the government and the state bodies, so that the best experts from all sectors of the national economy—regardless of their political orientation, since they do no work along party lines in this collective—should jointly tackle the problems of national interest, namely the national economy with its structures and prospects for long-term development.

Let us now turn to the problem of agriculture. Much criticism was leveled at the measures taken by the government in this area and at my presence at the recent meeting on agriculture. That was proof of the malice and ill-will expressed by some people, but then I am used to such things; they are really nothing new for me. I took note, however, of this fear of a return to the old administrative methods of intervention in economic problems. To begin with, I would prefer that beyond such outbursts of some [words indistinct], one should think clearly: In matters relating to the economy, one should not use abstract formulas, slogans, or demagoguery but should proceed from realities. Even the idea of reform is not the monopoly of a single person or a few persons; the reform is a basic problem of the national economy that is doomed to failure from the very start if the most important forces of the country do not get involved. Hence, the need for everyone to join in its implementation. The problems should not be tackled in an abstract way, by taking over certain models, since there is no such thing; problems should not be tackled on the basis of abstract considerations, but rather by proceeding from realities and from the understanding of reality.

We are now at a transition stage. In a transition stage, the methods employed should be suitable to the that period. Until we have a market economy with all its accompanying mechanisms, it is only natural to resort to mixed methods. Of course, in the future it will no longer be the task of the government or the ministry [word indistinct] to become involved in concrete issues such as ensuring [words indistinct] and (?mediating) in negotiations between trade unions and employers, that is, the units where the respective trade unions operate. These issues will eventually be settled at the level of the respective economic units. Of course, when agriculture is based on a new foundation, everyone will solve his own problems. No one will come forward to pass down indications. So, there is a lot to be done in all these matters. First, we are at a point when the involvement of the government and of organs of local administration is still necessary. As a matter of fact, even in the traditional market economies, the government becomes involved in major economic problems, of course, by employing appropriate methods that take into consideration each country's structures.

Since we are talking about agriculture, I suggested that the Ministry of Agriculture should publish the law on agriculture worked out in the thirties by Professor Ionescu (Titel). There, in an agricultural economy based on private ownership, one had small and large properties, and one would be surprised to know that the agricultural law had some draconian stipulations, such as, the primary obligation of all landowners to till the land, even if it was their private land, since the land is also a national asset that feeds the entire country. All owners are obliged to till the land. Look at the neighboring countries: If someone wants to own land or a zootechnical farm, he must even have a diploma of specialized training. Without specialized training, such as in agricultural or veterinary science, one cannot be a farmer there. These are rules that have emerged over many years of historical experience that led to the issuance of these rules.

Regarding the law worked out by (Titel), it also stipulated technological norms, under the guidance of specialized bodies, so as to ensure a certain balance of the basic products required by the national economy. All this means that everyone is interested in agriculture and intervenes in some form here, thus also ensuring the necessary guidance, including financial and scientific assistance. No one escapes entirely his responsibilities in this respect, let alone the countries that dominate the

world market. The United States dominates the world cereals market. The U.S. Government intervenes with economic measures to encourage or discourage farmers in their production, so as to influence world market developments. Therefore, there is no such thing as a state showing disinterest in such matters.

More justified is probably the criticism leveled at these measures not having come sooner, which might have reduced the losses in the summer agricultural season and we would not have wasted the favorable weather of September and October.

However, these measures were, first of all, aimed at agricultural machine depots that were organized as agricultural machinery and tractor stations and that have turned into commercial companies. These enterprises began carrying out other activities that seemed to them more profitable than basic agriculture. Well, all this technology that was created with massive state investment was intended precisely for basic agricultural operations, and no matter what kind of structure we have, even in this transformation period, we must see to it that this technology and this wealth is used for the purpose for which it was intended. In any case, at a time when we face great diesel oil shortages, the diesel oil that was available to us was used for operations alien to the agricultural seasonal operations and other fundamental operations aimed at providing bread for our country.

In any event, it is obvious that the measures that were taken, and the administrative measures, no matter how much they were criticized and in what way they were assessed, proved to be effective. In three weeks, the area sown in cereals has doubled. Thus, we recovered a great part of our deficiencies, and the (?good weather) should help us to complete the entire planting. Criticism was expressed in connection with certain assessments regarding the application of the land law. I am very surprised at certain voices that were heard, because the discussion [word indistinct] also the dialogue with prefects and the measures to limit distribution of ownership certificates and ownership titles to those entitled to be owners of the land in accordance with the provisions of the law. I was talking about certain anomalies about which peasants told me in a number of villages that I visited, in connection with the fact that certain successors appeared who did not belong to the villages or to agriculture. Recently, I also held talks with peasants in a certain area of the Baragan [nation's largest agricultural area], who said that they hail the return of the sons of the village, those who return in order to rejuvenate the labor force, as this is beneficial to agriculture. However, they do not view the appearance of speculators with pleasure. I believe that such remarks made by peasants are normal, because peasants were expecting that through the agrarian reform, if you wish fundamental reform, the land law should favor the people of the villages, who want to work in agriculture, who have tilled and want to continue to till the land, and not people who want to become rich, who have once been there and now return to reclaim the land.

Likewise, I was surprised by certain declarations regarding associations and even attempts to pressure and stop actions aimed at setting up small landowners associations. They came up with all kind of expressions, such as: Those are outdated, communist actions of reestablishing agricultural production cooperatives, and others. I believe that this is pure demagogy, because the free association of small landowners is a more generally known process and a form of self-defense by small landowners. If we want to talk in a realistic manner, it is the only way in which people can procure and use machinery and technology or work on irrigated lands. Cooperation, as a form of organization among agricultural workers, is almost as old as agriculture itself. It was used in all areas of the great river basins with irrigated areas thousands of years ago. In modern agriculture, there are two well-known ways of promoting agriculture. There is the American way, which was based on the expansion of large private properties and the brutal elimination of small landowners. This resulted in great ownership with powerful financial means that uses modern methods, mechanization, and agricultural science with great effectiveness and productivity and dominates the world market.

The second way is the way of cooperation, which is practiced in many countries in Europe, Asia, and other regions of the world. I visited a few such regions in southern France, in the sandy areas near the mouth of the Rhone. In the sixties, the French Government adopted a series of measures to encourage the concentration of capital in industry and agriculture in order to be able to cope with the pressure of American capital that was invading Europe. There, great mergers were taking place in industry. As far as agriculture was concerned, in this sandy area adjacent to the traditional viticulture region, the state expropriated all small holdings, funded massive improvements, and created large irrigated areas with an irrigation system covering more than 200,000 hectares. Then the land was re-sold, divided in 100-hectare or larger plots. Small landowners, who for many generations had been working in viticulture, in order to be able to cope with the situation, got together and set up viticulture cooperatives that exist today and are very effective.

There is a strong orientation toward cooperatives in all of northern Italy. We should not throw the baby out with the bath water. That is, though there have been instances of brutal state intervention in the cooperative process, the idea of cooperation itself should not be rejected. There is no choice for the small producer other than association, in order to promote modern, efficient agriculture.

It is a conservative view and [words indistinct] enable those people to make use of the technology that is available to us today. Many people say that we should encourage peasants with credits so that they can buy agricultural equipment. Can a peasant who owns two or three hectares of land buy the tractor and other tools necessary to till the land? Only through such associative

structures can they afford to. Or, later, let us see to it that the peasants of today who have received land not have the destiny of those who received land after World War II, who eventually became landless and assisted the concentration of land in the hands of large landowners. Therefore, we should help the peasants and not hinder them.

In connection with a certain eulogy that is being heard about Romanian agriculture between the wars, let us not exaggerate. All those born after the war do not know the realities of Romanian history. Those of us who lived in the thirties know very well how the Romanian peasant used to live. Let us not eulogize the Romanian state and the condition of the peasant who was not eating bread every day, thus giving us the saying about Romanian hominy [mamaliga]. The peasant was eating only hominy and fried corn, and pellagra became a social disease of great dimensions. Let us be a little more level-headed and realistic in assessing certain realities and historical periods in the development of Romanian society. Let us remember what has to be remembered, what was the truth, and refrain from exaggerated eulogizing. The absolute and complete negation and the unlimited eulogy are both extremes that do not ensure pertinent, objective, and real examination of historical realities.

I believe that the way some people carry out certain inflammatory activities is an irresponsible act aimed to eliminate companies set up on the basis of the former state agricultural enterprises as commercial companies. Some of them have been set up as research stations for fruit production, viticulture, livestock production, and others activities. Such an attitude is irresponsible. They make up altogether 18 percent of the country's cultivated area and are the only units involved in intensive agriculture using advanced methods and technology. They have been modernized for the promotion of farming and livestock production.

We must protect what has to be protected and what we have and what is good, and not destroy it because of certain [word indistinct] views. What has been achieved through years of work should be protected, consolidated, and safeguarded, not destroyed. It is easy to destroy, but much more difficult to build something.

And now, a few words about a controversy that cropped up lately on the nationality issue. First of all, I would like to assess the intransigent position adopted by the Parliament, as well as by a number of representatives of specific groups in connection with certain issues of a principal nature; that is, in connection with the idea of autonomy of the Szeklers' land or the report on the situation in Harghita and Covasna Counties. Since I am talking about basic issues and issues of principle that are directed to the integrity and unitary nature of the Romanian state, we cannot accept any kind of criticism or departure from the essential positions of defending national interests. At the same time, for the development of a state of law, it is of fundamental importance to ensure the rights and freedoms of all citizens, regardless of nationality and regardless of the fact that they belong to the majority or the minority. No matter who promotes exclusivism and intolerance, separatism, or ethnic segregation, just as with verbal excesses, generalizations, and attempts to cause collective guilt, we cannot confuse the actions of a group of extremists with the entire ethnic majority. Such excesses cannot be accepted. A form of chauvinistic nationalism can be fought with another such act coming from the opposite direction. In a democratic regime, both the rights of the majority and of minorities—regardless of their nature, such as ethnic, religious, political, or professional minorities—should be guaranteed. Sanctioning the rights of ethnic minorities does not mean concessions or compromise of national interests. It means to ensure a solid basis for all citizens of this country to live side by side in good understanding. It is our duty to give all our citizens a feeling that they are equal citizens of our common homeland. We cannot afford to harm the interests, rights, and freedoms of any citizen of this country. To achieve this goal, we must curb all excesses and extremist actions that feed each other and that undermine mutual understanding, cooperation, and cohabitation. We have lived side by side on the territory of this country for centuries, and we must also learn to live side by side under civilized conditions. This can be achieved only on a democratic basis, on the basis of mutual respect. I believe that the act of sanctioning these principles in Romania's constitution is a sign of maturity and political wisdom and should be considered by everyone with the utmost responsibility.

In conclusion, allow me to make just a few remarks on international events. On 11 November, the ministerial meeting of the Group of 24 [G-24] was held in Brussels to evaluate the progress of economic and political reform in Central and East Europe and to coordinate aid for these countries. I would like to point out—I have already mentioned this before—the positive results of this meeting, which spoke out against discrimination in tackling realities in East European countries. Probably the most significant assessment was that of German Foreign Minister Genscher who said that the share of assistance granted to Romania thus far has been unjust. Generally speaking, the decision adopted for the East European countries, in general, and Romania and Bulgaria, in particular, stipulates deblocking and disbursement of the Common Market quota of $500 million of the total $1 billion loan negotiated by our country with the G-24, without waiting for the position of the rest of the group. I consider this a positive thing and a realistic approach, quite significant for our relations, for the prospects of overall European relations, and for [words indistinct].

A second positive thing I want to point out is the NATO summit in Rome that endorsed two basic documents: the Alliance's new strategic concept and the Rome Declaration on Peace and Cooperation. An important document of direct interest to us is the declaration of the NATO leaders concerning relations with Central and East European countries. This is a positive declaration that we

welcomed, as you must have noticed in the press. Actually, as far back as the NATO summit in London and the ministerial meeting in Copenhagen [words indistinct] we voiced our openness and readiness to promote broad partnership relations with the Alliance. As you know, on the eve of the London meeting, we turned to the NATO secretary general and the NATO heads of government, welcoming this orientation. In the Rome documents, we noted with satisfaction the resumption or introduction of ideas that coincide with the proposals and positions expressed by Romania. We support measures regarding partnership and cooperation with the East European countries in defense planning; the democratic relationship between civilians and soldiers; coordination of air traffic and conversion of certain military industries for civilian purposes; and, generally speaking, various forms of maintaining constant dialogue in the long run.

I would also mention as a positive thing the proceedings of the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council in Washington, in which Minister of Economy and Finance George Danielescu took part. The proceedings revealed the real interest shown by the large number of U.S. businessmen in developing economic relations with our country and their critical attitude toward certain conservative positions in the U.S. Administration and Congress that are creating obstacles to this process. We also consider as positive the fact that, following the signing by President Bush of the cancellation of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, the program of economic and agricultural-food assistance is beginning to take shape. Assistant Secretary of State McAllister was supposed to come for concrete talks on this issue. Unfortunately, the fog prevented him from landing in Bucharest today.

A few words about the situation in Yugoslavia: As neighbors, there is no doubt that we are directly affected by and concerned with the evolution of events and the tragic turn of the military confrontation. In this respect, we hailed the efforts made by the European Community [EC] to facilitate a dialogue for political solutions. We took note of the new EC measures stipulated in the 8 November declaration. We closely followed events there and strove to maintain contacts and exchanges of information both with the Yugoslav bodies and the European ones. Everything we did aimed to avoid any kind of influence that might aggravate things and, as far as we could, we tried to make a positive contribution to finding solutions there. Anyway, we took steps, in line with those adopted by other European states, to prevent any flow of arms and armaments from Romania into Yugoslavia. Some false information was circulated in this respect. Anyway, the government adopted a special decision in this respect. Regarding the oil embargo and the economic sanctions adopted by the European countries, the government is examining their possible impact on our economy. As for oil, we are not able to deliver any, even if we wanted to, because we have no reserves. We are only talking generally about such measures. Well, we have to tackle these problems with maximum care, by taking into consideration their impact on our economy, which could barely sustain another shock like the one caused by the war in the Persian Gulf when, as you well know, the Security Council imposed economic sanctions against Iraq and Romania conformed with them [words indistinct]. In these relations, economic enterprises, units, and people are directly involved here. There are also other forms of direct cooperation the interruption of which would cause extremely difficult problems for the Romanian partners. [words indistinct]

And now, one final matter. The fourth summit conference of the francophone countries will take place next week in Paris. At the invitation of President Francois Mitterrand, we will attend this meeting for the first time. This is quite an important meeting since heads of states, prime ministers, foreign ministers and other prominent figures from 41 countries will be present. That will give us the opportunity for active contacts with a large number of [words indistinct] the use of this instrument of communication in the French language as a freely circulating language in the parliament [words indistinct], adopting new terminologies, and others.

We will participate in the meeting as observers. As a matter of fact, our relationship with France has given us opportunities to participate in a number of meetings, such as the conference of the culture ministers, conference of environment ministers, general conference of the International Association of Parliamentarians, of language universities or universities that partially use the French language, and others, all these during (?this) year.

The Paris conference [words indistinct] and up to the year 2000. Apart from the opportunity to participate in the meeting [words indistinct] we will use the opportunity for very fruitful meetings and, on this occasion, we will [words indistinct] accord of friendship and collaboration [words indistinct], that will be proof of our relations with France and express the joint wish to expand bilateral relations in all areas.

With this, I conclude my remarks.

Stolojan Announces Wage Indexation Rate

AU1511213891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2126 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/11/91—I can already say today owing to the decisions the government made in its morning session, with the most important one referring to payment and social protection, that the set of decisions we had to make has virtually come to an end in a relatively short period of time once the rates were unified and the leu's internal convertibility, started being applied stated Friday [15 November] Premier Theodor Stolojan a month after he forwarded the Parliament his report on the chief goals till general elections. Following the talks and negotiations with the trade unions and examining their claims the government decided on a 12.5 per-cent higher indexation than the 5.9 per-cent one as envisaged in accordance with the rise in prices planned for the same interval from November 15 to

December 31. Those talks were also a basis for the decision to maintain the pension-salary ratio through the November indexation and the prices for the known products—the electric power supply to the population, thermal energy, season tickets, bread, milk and others—which are to be at the same price till May 1, 1991. Agreement was reached with the trade unions as well on undelayed inception of talks regarding the payment system and the new way of correlating salaries and prices so as to ensure such an economic stability as not to slip into inflation, a system which should function starting January 1, 1992. Upon the trade unions' suggestion, the government intended to apply the new system since mid-November.

Referring to his interview with representatives of Jiu Valley trade unions, Mr. Stolojan said there were certain problems on which their viewpoints differed. I explained government's considerations on those points, said he. They told us their reasons, remaining open to this dialogue till legal solutions can be found. I should also like to stress that the talks with T.U. [trade union] representatives allowed me to note the growing quality of my collocutors. Our dialogue had a solid basis seeking solutions to the problems raised by both sides.

The premier showed in his opinion the only possible base for preventing real incomes from dropping was economic growth based on efficiency, not like in the past when it was not conducive to a better living because the aims chosen to spend money, the production and its orientation relied on other principles than the ones related to economic efficiency. Everybody worked hard and all the country's citizens know what work meant in the past. We cannot agree either to the opinions that everything done before is wrong. On the contrary we must see what we have, what we can use and try to do everything good of what we have and build that market economy, that industry which can be competitive and so should we do with agriculture as well. For us the question is quite clear: How can we maintain, stop the decrease of production and provide conditions for economic growth in Romania; now we do not have all conditions to stop production from falling, to revamp it. Neither had we time like other countries in our area, which had thought for several years how such a thing could be done. Romanian found itself in the turmoil of December 1989 when the only possible, real alternative in the interests of our people was to clearly choose the road toward democracy and the market economy. For everybody it was quite obvious that the property reform cannot be implemented in a day, in half a year or in a year because it takes time. The press published the names of six or seven commercial companies that start privatization. This is a clear sign of the reform that began in the sphere of property, of its basic change and the owner's in industry. Essential for this country is not to let it slide into imbalance, into a bullish inflation. We must accomplish such structural reforms as soon as possible because only this way can we create conditions for economic growth in Romania.

The government's short-term goal is to ensure economic stability at such moments when prices rise, salaries do the same and production drops. The trade unions' objective is to protect real incomes. Apparently they enter into contradiction but in fact they do not because the long-term aim of both sides is the growth of real incomes, and that cannot be achieved otherwise than by maintaining production, and boosting it in conditions of stability. This is the basis for our dialogue which can lead to economic stability and a certain social protection.

Stolojan, Serbian Prime Minister Comment on Talks

AU1611191391 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Statements by Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan and Serbian Prime Minister Dragutin Zelenovic at the end of talks in Bucharest on 16 November—recorded; Zelenovic statement in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed Romanian translation]

[Text] A governmental delegation of the Republic of Serbia led by Prime Minister Dragutin Zelenovic paid a visit to our country today. The delegation also consisted of Minister of Foreign Affairs Vladislav Jovanovic and Minister of Energy Nikkola Sainovic. After the talks with Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan, which lasted for more than five hours, the two prime ministers made statements to our radio station. To begin with, we present the statement made by Romanian Prime Minister Mr. Theodor Stolojan:

[Stolojan] We reviewed, so to say, problems of mutual interest between our country, on the one hand, and Serbia and Yugoslavia, on the other. I can tell you that this joint examination of problems was most useful, as I was able to understand much better what is currently happening in Yugoslavia better than I would from just reading simple communiques obtained through various channels.

I note with satisfaction Serbia's sincere desire for an end to the armed conflict currently underway in Yugoslavia, a conflict that is causing the loss of human lives, material damage, and a huge waste of resources. Likewise, we noted with much satisfaction the real desire of Serbia to solve all problems through negotiations.

Romania has a rather special stand on this issue. We are neighbors with Yugoslavia and Serbia, and we have no cause for conflict with either, as you well know. There are no sources of tension between us and Yugoslavia, or between us and any other republic in Yugoslavia. Therefore, Romania may be able to contribute to bringing about an end to these armed conflicts and help to calm down the situation. If we are asked, Romania is ready to conduct talks with each of the republics in Yugoslavia to facilitate this process.

Likewise, both of us ascertained that any interference, for example, of a force from outside the area will only

exacerbate the conflict. Therefore, we support those initiatives, including those made through the offices of the United Nations, that can truly calm down the situation in Yugoslavia.

Of course, we also examined other relations between Romania and Serbia, particularly the economic ties. We share the viewpoint that economic sanctions in general do not solve armed conflicts—it is quite clear that they will worsen the situation of the population—and Romania is worried over these sanctions and their effect on the population in Serbia and other republics. Therefore, once again, Romania will also act internationally to find ways and means to bring about a negotiated end to this armed conflict.

We now present the statement of Serbian Prime Minister Dragutin Zelenovic:

[Zelenovic] I came to you, to our friends in Romania, with whom we discussed problems of mutual interest. In my opinion, our discussions dealt with the crisis in Yugoslavia and the situation in Europe. We exchanged views, since it is only natural to brief each other about the concerns of Yugoslavia and Serbia and about the crisis and the war going on in Yugoslavia; all these problems also affect, whether we want it or not, the neighboring countries, too, particularly Romania, with which we fortunately have the longest border. In my opinion, I am convinced that we understood each other very well on all problems discussed. We agreed with Mr. Stolojan to periodically meet and brief each other on the state of economic and cultural ties and on all problems of mutual interest. It is obvious that we have common interests in economic cooperation. We found ways and means to develop economic relations, particularly the sale of Serbian and Romanian products on Yugoslav markets.

The prospects for the relations between Romania and Serbia are excellent. We are developing ties with such counties in Romania as Timis, Caras-Severin, and Arad. We are convinced that the situation in Yugoslavia and, particularly, in Serbia will improve, that the conflict will end, and that we will be able to continue our peaceful work of cooperation under conditions of tranquillity because this is to our mutual benefit. Thank you for everything you did.

A short while ago, the Serbian delegation left Bucharest aboard an airplane that took off from Otopeni Airport.

Iliescu Receives SFRY Presidency's Jovic

LD1711182491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1724 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—Borisav Jovic, a member of the Yugoslav Presidency, today paid a short, working visit to Romania at the invitation of President Ion Iliescu.

Talks, in which Romanian Foreign Affairs Minister Adrian Nastase also took part, considered the situation in Yugoslavia and the current phase of the Yugoslav crisis.

The talks focused on Romanian support for the Yugoslav Presidency request for the UN Security Council to send "blue helmets" to Croatia.

The Romanian side expressed willingness to support all international efforts, including the United Nations', aimed at helping the warring sides in Yugoslavia to reach a settlement in a peaceful manner at the negotiating table.

Borisav Jovic said that a short working visit to Bucharest was a part of a Yugoslav Presidency's initiative "to consult as many countries as possible, specifically the United Nations Security Council members, on ways to find the best solution to the crisis in Yugoslavia."

Jovic briefed President Iliescu about the stands of the Yugoslav leadership on peace intiatives launched by the European Community and other international institutions.

Yugoslav Presidency member Borisav Jovic ended his visit to Bucharest and left for Belgrade this evening.

International

Croatian Ministry Appeals to Bush, Kohl for Help

LD1611202291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] The Republic of Croatia's Foreign Ministry sent a save Vukovar appeal to U.S. President George Bush, German Chancellor Kohl, a large number of U.S. senators, and outstanding personalities and offices of the Republic of Croatia abroad. The letter was signed by Marin Vidic-Bili, representative of the Croatian Government on the Vukovar front.

The war in this area has been going on for over six months. There is very little time left for the remaining 15,000 inhabitants, including 2,000 children. The long seige has exhausted the reserves of this town, which has been practically destroyed in its entirety, and cellars and shelters are the only places where the civilian population can live. The hospital is trying to treat 450 heavily wounded people, but this is hardly possible because of the shortage of electricity, water, medicines, blood, and medical supplies. There are also outbreaks of infections, and people are dying from them. All villages in the eastern part of the municipality have been destroyed, and the Croatian inhabitants have been either killed or expelled. For these reasons, I beg you, as influentatial people, that the executive authorities of your country extend active help to this tormented town. We do not ask for material help, nor political concessions, but only the right to life, the right which is daily being denied to the citizens of Vukovar, Marin Vidic-Bili emphasizes.

Defense Secretariat Denies Carrington Statement

LD1511165591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1615 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 15 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Defence Secretariat on Friday [15 November] denied a statement by chairman of the conference on Yugoslavia Lord Carrington that Federal Secretary for National Defence General of the Army Veljko Kadijevic had travelled to Zagreb for talks on deblocking the Yugoslav Army units in military facilities in Croatia.

"Federal Secretary for National Defence General of the Army Veljko Kadijevic has neither travelled to Zagreb for talks with the leadership of the Republic of Croatia on deblocking the Yugoslav People's Army units, nor plans to do so," a statement released by the secretariat's information service said.

Before leaving Belgrade for Sarajevo yesterday, Lord Carrington said, among other things, that General Kadijevic had told him he would again go to Zagreb to make sure that everything was deblocked to the end.

"General Kadijevic believes that the Yugoslav Presidency decision adopted in The Hague on October 18, 1991, on deblocking the Yugoslav People's Army units in Croatia and their relocation is clear enough and must be carried out consistently," the statement pointed out.

"Accordingly, Lord Carrington's statement reported by TANJUG does not correspond to the truth."

The Defence Secretariat statement also noted that the chairman of The Hague conference "Has on several occasions incorrectly interpreted his meetings and talks with the federal secretary for national defence which has undesirable effects and causes dilemmas in public."

Romanian, Serbian Leaders Say Sanctions No Help

LD1711043691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2111 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, November 16 (TANJUG)—Romanian Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan stated on Saturday [16 November] that Romania supported all peace initiatives for the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, including also mediation of the United Nations.

After a meeting with premier of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Dragutin Zelenovic in Bucharest, Stolojan told newsmen the two sides concluded that the European Community economic sanctions were not in a position to resolve conflicts and that they "always worsened the situation of the population."

The Romanian prime minister stated the readiness of his country to mediate in the dispute between the Yugoslav republics if asked to do so.

Zelenovic also met with Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase, who said the Yugoslav crisis has culminated and expressed the hope that the hostilities would cease soon. This, as he said, was a pre-condition for opening political negotiations for the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

Zelenovic very positively assessed the visit to Romania and emphasized that the talks with the Romanian leadership were "necessary and beneficial."

Army Ensures Security for EC Observers in Vukovar

LD1811115391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] We have just learned that Colonel General Andrija Raseta has sent a letter to the EC Ambassador in Zagreb, Dirk Van Houten. In it he stresses that the Yugoslav Army is prepared to guarantee security to EC observer teams in Vukovar and help evacuate the elderly, the infirm, and the wounded. It was Ambassador Van Houten who demanded such guarantees from the Yugoslav Army yesterday.

Draskovic Wants UN Protection Force in Croatia

LD1511230491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1921 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 15 (TANJUG)—Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), the strongest opposition party in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, today said that the U.N. peacekeeping troops must be sent to regions in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia where Serbs are a majority population.

Other armed formations should not be in this area, except for local Serbian police, Draskovic underscored in talks with special envoy of Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis, Alessandro Grafini, and of Greek Foreign Minister Andonios Samaras, Constantine Elianos.

The SPO statement on the talks cites that Draskovic underscored that the responsibility for the cease-fire, which would secure conditions for engaging the "blue helmets", lies with the Croatian side, since this Yugoslav Republic had violated all the cease-fire agreements so far.

Grafini and Elianos, according to the statement, welcomed the initiative for the talks of Presidents of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic and of Croatia Franjo Tudjman in Paris, assessing that the talks should also include the leaders of opposition parties in both republics, as well as the heads of the Serbian Orthodox and Roman Catholic and Moslem confessions.

Soviet Captain Confirms Croatians Sank Tugboat

LD1611180391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1639 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 16 (TANJUG)—Piotr Deterenko, captain of the Soviet tugboat who lost two officers when his vessel was hit by shells and heavily damaged on the Danube near Vukovar, eastern Slavonija, on Thursday [14 November] has stated that the vessel was shelled by members of Croatian para-military formations.

In a statement published in the Belgrade daily POLITIKA today, Captain Deterenko specified that the flag of the new Croatian regime was flying "next to the group of men who shelled the boat."

Captain Deterenko ruled out the possibility that his vessel was hit accidentally. He stressed that the boat was clearly marked as a USSR vessel, and insisted that the "attackers must have known whom they were shelling."

POLITIKA quotes Captain Deterenko as saying that nine mortar shells and an undetermined number of bullets were fired at his vessel. Two officers were killed and three members of the crew wounded.

Two of the wounded crew were released from hospital in Novi Sad, province of Vojvodina, after receiving medical aid.

Swiss Red Cross Boat To Evacuate Injured

LD1511174491 Bern Swiss Radio International in English 1530 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] A vessel chartered by the All-Swiss International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] is due to leave Italy this weekend for the besieged Adriatic port of Dubrovnik to evacuate injured Yugoslav nationals. The ICRC in Geneva said the boat would be able to accomodate 250 people. [Word indistinct] expected to leave the Italian port of Bari on Sunday or Monday.

Meanwhile, local Red Cross representatives in Yugoslavia's six republics are continuing talks in Geneva on the humanitarian situation in Yugoslavia.

France, Italy Send Aid Ships to Dubrovnik

AU1811120091 Paris AFP in English 1156 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Paris, Nov 18 (FP)—An Italian hospital boat has arrived in Dubrovnik and a French aid ship will soon follow as part of a joint effort to supply food and medical supplies to people in the besieged Croatian port, officials said Monday [18 November].

The Italian vessel, the hospital ship San Marco with nine doctors and a team of Italian Red Cross workers on board, arrived in Dubrovnik Monday morning, according to Italian Defense Minister Virginio Rognoni, who was speaking in Bonn on the sidelines of a Western European Union meeting.

The San Marco sailed from Brindisi Sunday [17 November] night, and is to evacuate several hundred refugees and casualties from the Adriatic port which is surrouned by Yugoslav federal troops. Italian authorities said Sunday the refugees would be brought to Italy.

A French military vessel, La Rance, was also heading to Dubrovnik as a health support boat to back-up the Italian initiative, the French Defense Ministry said Monday. It arrived in Brindisi, in southern Italy, on Monday morning to take on a load of food and medication. Sixteen medical personnel and several aides were to be flown in to Brindisi to join the vessel later Monday.

The ministry said La Rance would await a report from the San Marco to see what sort of food and medication was most urgently needed before setting off. It has a 100-bed capacity for medical patients and can carry up to 100 more passengers.

The joint effort was decided in Milan Sunday night in a meeting between Rognoni and French Defense Minister Pierre Joxe, a ministry statement said.

In Dubrovnik, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) was handling the distribution of food to some 15,000 children stuck in the city, the ministry said.

Yugoslav federal authorities on Sunday gave permission for the Italian ship to set off for Dubrovnik after the Italian Government intervened with the Serbian leadership in Belgrade.

Federal

Republics Chamber Denies Confidence in Markovic

LD1511203691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1835 GMT 15 Nov 91

[By Mira Kankaras]

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 15 (TANJUG)—A conclusion made today by the Yugoslav Parliament's Chamber of the Republics and Provinces on denying confidence in Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic does not mean his automatic replacement.

The decision, according to Yugoslavia's legislation, would have its weight only if the bicameral parliament's Federal Chamber takes the same stand.

Only in this case, could the federal Presidency propose a mandatary for a new federal government, as the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces asked the Presidency tonight. The denial of confidence in the Yugoslav prime minister presumes also the dissolution of his entire cabinet.

The question of confidence in the federal government may be raised by the Federal Chamber on a proposal of at least ten of its delegates. This question may be raised by the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces on a proposal of one its delegation.

Today's session of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces was attended by the full delegations from the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro and from the northern Serbian province of Vojvodina.

The Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina was represented only by delegates of Serbian nationality, and the southern Serbian province Kosovo was represented only by delegates of Serbian and Turkish nationalities.

Those absent were the delegations of the Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia, with the exception of one delegate from Croatia who abstained from voting.

Last week, the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces adopted a conclusion allowing itself to sit and make decisions even in the absence of the delegations from certain federal units provided that majority of delegates from the other republics and provinces were present at its session.

The Federal Chamber today postponed for next Thursday its voting on the methods of its future work in incomplete composition.

Presidency To Replace Prime Minister Markovic

LD1511210291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2027 GMT 15 Nov 91

["Urgent"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] [no dateline as received] Yugoslav State Presidency this evening decided to begin procedure for election of new federal prime minister and recommended to foreign Minister Budimir Loncar to turn over his duties to his deputy Milivoje Maksic, until the election of a new federal government.

Statement on Markovic, Loncar

LD1511220791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2053 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Nov (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency tonight held a session in Belgrade under the chairmanship of Vice President Branko Kostic. The SFRY Presidency considered the results of today's session of the SFRY Assembly and the obligations that ensued from it for the Presidency's future work, the public statement from the SFRY Presidency session reads.

The SFRY Assembly, the statement says, has extended full support to the SFRY Presidency for its work in the conditions of immediate war danger and for the stands it has adopted so far in the search for a solution to the Yugoslav state and political crisis.

The SFRY Assembly has expressed its support for the actions of the SFRY Presidency aimed at securing peace in the country, the preservation of the continuity of Yugoslavia as a state community, and the respect for constitutionality and legality.

Proceeding from the concrete conclusions and immediate tasks determined by the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly at its session of 15 November 1991, and the proposals submitted during the discussion at the session of the Federal Chamber, the SFRY Presidency has determined its own immediate obligations and responsibilities.

Taking into consideration that the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly today denied confidence in Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic, and that a number of delegates in the Federal Chamber seriously criticized his work, and that the Federal Chamber will decide on its confidence in the president of the Federal Executive Council at its session on 21 November, the SFRY Presidency has decided that, in keeping with its rights and obligations established by Article 315 of the SFRY Constitution, it will start the proceedings to determine a candidate for the new president of the Federal Executive Council.

In view of the expressed criticism and the loss of confidence in Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for

foreign affairs, expressed by the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly, and bearing in mind that the SFRY Presidency is responsible for the country's foreign policy and that the cooperation between the federal secretary for foreign affairs and the SFRY Presidency has already been interrupted for some time, the SFRY Presidency has recommended to Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, that in the future he should not interact with foreign countries in the position of federal secretary for foreign affairs and that he should leave the performance of these duties on behalf of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, until the election of a new government, to Milivoje Maksic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs, the SFRY Presidency's public statement concludes.

Kostic Outlines Removal Plans

LD1611165891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1517 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Nov (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic today told Radio Politika that the new government will be announced 21 November. Kostic revealed that Ante Markovic is in Zagreb, adding that the federal premier is working directly to destroy Yugoslavia.

Asked whether the premier and the foreign affairs secretary could be legally replaced at this very moment, Branko Kostic, who was a guest of Radio Politika's "Between Two Saturdays" program [izmedju dve subote], stressed that the Chamber of Republics and Provinces yesterday passed a vote of no confidence in them and charged the Presidency with setting in motion a procedure for establishing a new premier.

Kostic said that the Presidency has already set the procedure in motion and that the Federal Chamber will be given the option of passing a vote of no confidence in the premier and the foreign affairs secretary on 21 November.

"We wanted neither to hurry this through nor to use our constitutional powers, but we left it to the federal parliament," Kostic said.

Asked how the Presidency will react if the Federal Chamber does not do that, Kostic said that the issue is then "quite clear." The Presidency will use its constitutional powers under the article on the work in the imminent war danger and will make a decision which is within the competence of the Federal Assembly. This decision will then be given to the Assembly—when it will be in a position to meet—for verification.

Asked whether anyone would be held accountable for the situation in the country, Branko Kostic stated that "mistrust in Ante Markovic is coming very late." He explained that the Presidency could have made this move much earlier—more than a month ago when the Presidency started to work along the lines of a state of imminent war threat—but it had assessed that this could, in effect, inflict more damage on Yugoslavia at the international level than keeping Markovic until the federal parliament convened. It was the simple reason of Markovic and Loncar being directly involved in the work of The Hague conference, Kostic said.

Replacing Markovic and Loncar when the EC has expressed its reservations about the Presidency's work and when, as Kostic stressed, it has even attempted to ignore us and disregard any decision we would make could have brought about complications and difficulties in the work of The Hague conference. In that case, it would have been the Presidency rather than the true causes that would have been blamed for the failure and suspension of The Hague conference all the way up to this moment.

There were reasons for dismissing and removing Ante Markovic and Budimir Loncar at a far earlier stage, but this was not done because the work of Federal institutions was blocked, Kostic said.

This blockade aimed, in his view, to achieve what later was going to become the demand of The Hague peace conference itself simply to terminate and eradicate Yugoslavia by extinguishing its institutions, as well as to dismantle the entire Yugoslav Peoples' Army, which could have come to the protection of Yugoslavia as a state community of peoples under threat, something that leads to a concept that was finally built into The Hague document by constituting six sovereign states out of the six existing republics.

One of the questions addressed to the SFRY Presidency vice president was whether Ante Markovic would leave without being held responsible for the greatest contribution to creating paramilitary formations in Croatia and to the disaster of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army in Slovenia.

Branko Kostic said: "As far as I know, Ante Markovic is already in Zagreb. We have absolutely reliable reports that he has been in direct contact and had talks with the leadership of Croatia and that he stayed here until this moment—that is, only so long as he was able to do something for Croatia's interests. One should not be surprised if Ante Markovic finds, like Anton Tus, a prominent position in the future makeup of power in Croatia. Consequently, it is very likely and possible that for the time being Ante Markovic will get away without facing the consequences of what he did in the course of his direct destruction of Yugoslavia."

Asked about the Presidency's future moves, Branko Kostic said that the Presidency launched an initiative for the republics to put forward a possible mandator of the federal government stating: I believe that as early as 21 November we will have the Federal Executive Council's [FEC] new lineup.

One should bear in mind in this context, Branko Kostic stressed, that in a sense we are forming this government as a temporary government since, under the current war

circumstances, when a large number of people are participating in the war, it is impossible to expect multiparty elections for federal institutions.

The Presidency will engage itself most directly in seeking a peaceful solution to the state and political crisis. We will do everything, Branko Kostic stressed, to bring about an end to the war and clashes and then to try and find, together with everyone in Yugoslavia and the international community's help, a solution acceptable to all.

In addition to this, the Presidency will, together with the competent organs, primarily with parliament, get engaged in preparing all the documents expected to articulate Yugoslavia as a new state community, beginning with a new constitution. We have been long insisting on drawing up a new Yugoslav constitution, something that was blocked as an integral part of the policy of quietly dismantling Yugoslavia, Branko Kostic said.

Speaking about the first task facing the new government, Kostic stressed that it is to define measures of economic policy under conditions in which certain parts of Yugoslavia pursue autonomous policies, very often to the detriment of the remaining part of the country, and in light of consequences of a possible extension of sanctions of the EC and of other subjects. The economic policy program should prevent, Kostic added, hyperinflation and its consequences.

As the second important task, Kostic mentioned measures of social policy because an enormous number of citizens have left their homes.

Asked what the Presidency's cooperation with other FEC members was like, bearing in mind that Markovic and Loncar have not attended the Presidency sessions for a long time now, Branko Kostic first confirmed that Markovic and Loncar have not attended sessions since 3 October, when the Presidency started working under conditions of imminent war danger. Even after speaking with Loncar twice, he remained persistent not to attend the sessions, Kostic said.

From the very first day we have had very good and very successful cooperation with certain federal departments, primarily with the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, and good cooperation with other ministers. We have had good cooperation with Deputy Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Milivoj Maksic, Under Secretary Milan Veres, and we have been in regular touch with FEC Vice President Aleksandar Mitrovic, who often participated in the Presidency sessions, Kostic said.

Answering a question regarding Bogic Bogicevic, Branko Kostic concluded that by his constant boycott of the Presidency he now disregarded good manners not to block the Presidency's work by his presence. [sentence as received]

At the penultimate session, we agreed that we should talk with Bogicevic and Tupurkovski again, Kostic said, adding that he saw no reason why Bogicevic should refuse to participate in the Presidency's work, because he represents, or should represent, the whole people in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Bogicevic is, in a way, a representative of the Serbian people, and it is very strange that he refuses to participate in the Presidency's work. I do not know whether it will possibly be the plebiscite of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which was doubtlessly caused by unilateral actions of the Party of Democratic Action and the Croatian Democratic Community, which will force or motivate Bogicevic to resume his work in the SFRY Presidency, even more so because most competent representatives of the Serbian Democratic Party recently said they expected him to resume work, SFRY Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic told Radio Politika today.

Markovic Removal, Assembly Breakin Possibly Linked

LD1611222191 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Does an attempt to enter forcefully the Federal Assembly building in Belgrade last night have any connection with direct threats to Ante Markovic and his foreign minister? Dusko Mandic reports from Belgrade:

[Mandic] Belgrade TV told its viewers this morning that one person tried to force his way into the Yugoslav Assembly building last night when the security service opened fire and wounded him. According to what we have learned so far, his wounds are serious, and the anonymous attacker is in critical condition. All kinds of rumors about this incident are spreading, including one that says the black Mercedes tried to clamber up the stairway leading to the Assembly's main entrance and was prevented from doing so. There is no end to rumors because there have been some calculations now that the car contained a large quantity of explosive and that it was a car bomb, which is hard to believe because the explosive would have exploded when the police intervened. It is worth thinking about the circumstances under which this incident happened. The Yugoslav Assembly had been in session before it all took place, which, in its more than halved composition, tried to adopt crucial decisions, such as the toppling of the Federal prime minister, his foreign minister, and in that line adopted conclusions which, according to the present Constitution, do not have the force of law. Meanwhile, U.S. diplomacy suddenly became active, and U.S. Ambassador Zimmerman visited Federal Prime Minister Markovic, and Cyrus Vance arrived in Belgrade this morning. [passage omitted]

BORBA Expects Prime Minister To 'Step Down'

LD1611173191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1625 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 16 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily BORBA, which is close to the federal government, today writes that it is nearly certain that Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic will step down from the Yugoslav political stage, and it stresses that Markovic is a politician for whom "the big doors of history were open at one point."

The daily writes that, after the no-confidence vote in the Assembly of Yugoslavia Chamber of Republics and Provinces yesterday, the vote in the other Assembly house, the Federal Chamber, is a sheer political formality.

BORBA writes that it has been clear ever since the war broke out in Yugoslavia that the federal government, which no longer enjoyed a nation-wide support as it did over a year and a half ago, would be left holding the bag.

The daily says that the whole course of events in the country made it clear that it was not possible for the state to disintegrate and its government to survive.

BORBA says that it was only a question of time when a form would be found for definitively downing the federal government of Prime Minister Ante Markovic, especially since the resignation of all its Slovene members and nearly all Croatian.

Commentary Assesses Markovic's Departure

LD1611224191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2136 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 16 (TANJUG)—Departure of Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic and other members of the Yugoslav Government would practically mean the ackowledgement of the factual situation—that Yugoslavia, as it was, no longer existed, it was set out in a commenatry on Belgrade television prime news on Saturday [16 November] night.

That which definitely remained of Yugoslavia, as the commentary said, was the international legitimacy of a country which cannot be taken away from it should any of its federal units leave it. Yugoslavia's sovereignty is the heritage of those Yugoslav nations which want Yugoslavia, the sovereignty which the future government would have to safeguard.

The decision on Friday [15 November] of the Yugoslav parliament Chamber of Republics and Provinces (one of its two houses) on recalling the Yugoslav prime minister and at the same time instituting the proceedings at the state Presidency to choose a new prime minister designate, means, as set out, the departure of the current Yugoslav Government after two years and eight months since its forming.

The commentary asked who in the present time of crisis in the country would have the courage to sit in the prime minister's chair and said one of the possible solutions was the "forming of a provisional national salvation government, which would exist until a definitive denouement of the political crisis in the country and the establishment of a future state community."

Federal Chamber Delegates Continue To Meet

Fail To Agree on Resuming Work

LD1511152691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1411 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 15 (TANJUG)—Delegates to the Federal Chamber of Yugoslavia's bicameral parliament today failed to agree on the modalities of their work after some Yugoslav republics withdrew from the federal parliament.

The delegates said they would resume work on November 21, when a final decision is to be made on how to deblock the Federal Chamber.

The chamber has not met for almost five months because (?Slovenia) and Croatia recalled their delegates. As of lately, the sessions of the chamber's working bodies have also not been attended by the delegates from Macedonia and ethnic Albanians from the Serbian Province of Kosovo.

The representatives of Macedonia in the Federal Chamber informed the federal parliament in writing that they would not attend today's session, at which Vice-President of the Federal Presidency Branko Kostic submitted a report on measures for resolving the Yugoslav crisis.

The Macedonian delegates said their decison was motivated by "disagreement with the report and the positions of the illegitimate four-member Presidency of Yugoslavia."

The eight-member collective head of state, whose sessions since October 3 have been attended only by members from Montenegro, Serbia and its provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina, yesterday said in a report "On the activities for resolving the state and political crisis in Yugoslavia" that Croatian authorities "are pursuing and stepping up a Nazi and fascist policy."

Call For UN Force in Croatia

LD1511171591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1630 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 15 (TANJUG)—The Federal Chamber of the bicameral Yugoslav parliament upheld today a proposal by the Yugoslav State Presidency to engage a United Nations peacekeeping force in Croatia "as the prerequisite for a lasting and peaceful solution for the status of Serbs" in Croatia.

A several-hour debate on the resolving of Yugoslavia's state-political crisis was ended by Federal Chamber President Bogdana Glumac's statement saying that the delegates were unanimous in their bid to have Yugoslavia preserved.

In her words, the general stand was to halt armed conflicts and achieve peace in Yugoslavia.

A debate on the future methods of work in the Federal Chamber, in the absence of delegations from certain Yugoslav republics, was shelved off for next Thursday [21 November].

About the middle of this year, the parliament delegations from the Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia and Croatia were, on decision by their parliaments, recalled from the federal parliament, when the two republics unilaterally declared independence.

The Federal Chamber session today was not attended either by delegates from the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and ethnic Albanian delegates from the Serbian province of Kosovo-Metohija.

The legislative commission of the federal parliament proposed that the Federal Chamber would from now on make decisions by a majority vote of those present at a session.

Mesic on European Recognition of Croatia, Slovenia

LD1511220991 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Following his return from Germany where he had talks with German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Stipe Mesic, president of the Yugoslav Presidency, met Janez Drnovsek and informed him about the results of his talks. This is what he told Slovene Television [as heard].

[Begin Mesic recording] I do not know whether the entire EC will grant recognition at once. For the time being one large group is certain to do so. This is, after all, a prerequisite for us to reach another stage. It is hard to imagine that just about everyone will do so at the same time. But what I discussed with Herr Genscher and Mr. Andreotti in Italy suggests, I think, that the situation is right for a large group of countries to grant recognition. As for what Drnovsek said, it is a fact that if these measures against Yugoslavia are to be implemented they will also affect the victims; they will affect both Slovenia and Croatia, which is pointless. These two entities should be exempt. And here again the problem rests with recognition of sovereignty.

The fact that some people thought that Croatia will have to cede a part of its own territory for the sake of peace, that is out of the question. This is something secured by guarantees. What is certain is that Croatia should guarantee all the communities in its territory, including the Serbs, the rights set by European civilizational standards. There is nothing new about that. Croatia is not shying away from this. Of course, Croatia insists that this principle be upheld, that is, that others, too, should guarantee all comunities, even in the case of Croats. Hence, there must be reciprocity. [end recording]

BORBA Finds Pact on UN Forces 'Astonishing'

LD1611204291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1536 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 16 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily BORBA today writes that all sides involved in the Yugoslav conflict "have reached out for the same life belt—the 'blue helmets', i.e., the United Nations."

BORBA writes that it is astonishing that all warring sides in Yugoslavia more or less agree not only about the deployment of U.N. peacekeeping forces but also about the task of those forces, which they agree should be to watch over the security of the Serbian population in the crisis areas.

The daily says that no side—neither the Army, Serbia, nor Croatia—feels that it is time now for talks on borders and a referendum of the Serbian population in Croatia, since those are not "essential issues for the time being," as U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, himself, has set out.

BORBA writes that the world has realized that use must be made of every cease-fire in the Yugoslav conflict, that conditions must be created for the deployment of U.N. peacekeeping forces, and a "zero position" ensured for the "articulation of political relations in Yugoslavia."

BORBA in illustration singles out the speedy reaction of U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, who has said that the U.N. Security Council will take the necessary decision and who has set the U.N. mechanism into motion.

BORBA writes that Germany questions the engagement of U.N. peacekeeping forces in Yugoslavia because it feels that it would help Serbs to get Croatian territories. The daily sets out that Germany is openly accusing Croatian President Franjo Tudjman of being ready to give away Croatian territories in exchange for peace.

The Belgrade daily BORBA writes in conclusion that Germany's torpedoing of the peace plan, which has with difficulty been accepted by the warring sides in Yugoslavia, could lead to further polarization and tensions in Europe.

Kadijevic: Military 'Does Not Want This War'

LD1611194291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1717 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Nov (TANJUG)—Army General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, as he inspected Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] troops in

the first military district zone, said that the JNA does not want this war and that it was imposed on us. Those in the country destroying Yugoslavia, supported by their foreign patrons, opted for a military solution, and we had no other choice but to react to their force with force.

If the enemies come to their senses and finally start complying with the cease-fire agreement and lifting the blockade of JNA units in Croatia and repositioning them, the Army's weapons will fall silent immediately, Army Gen. Veljko Kadijevic said.

As the Federal Secretariat for National Defense Information Service reports, the federal secretary for national defense went on to say: No one knows better than we soldiers about what war is and what suffering it brings about. This is why we have always been in favor of peace, but we cannot and will not let anyone play with the lives of JNA members in the blockaded garrisons and the destiny of the Serbian people in the crisis areas. We will prevent a repeat of the genocide and defend the right of those people of ours who want to continue our common existence in a new Yugoslavia.

Colonel Gen. Zivota Panic, commander of the first military district; Novi Sad Corps Commander Andrija Biorcevic; Major Gen. Mico Delic, commander of the first proletariat guard motorized division; and Col. Mile Mrksic, commander of the guard motorized brigade, informed Gen. Kadijevic about the situation in the units and their results. In his talks with the commanders, critical consideration was given to the experience so far of carrying out the mobilization and commanding, managing, and organizing life and work on the battlefield. One should learn quickly while drawing upon our experience so far and sacrifice everything to the effective execution of tasks, Gen. Kadijevic said.

While paying tribute to the soldiers, territorial defense members, and officers for their brave conduct and results, the Federal secretary for national defense demanded that future tasks be carried out in a determined, disciplined, and responsible way. We will do our best to restore peace as soon as possible, although the war imposed upon us may well go on for some time. This is why we must organize and prepare ourselves at the state, political, moral, military, and every other level. The more successful we are in achieving this, the sooner we will have peace, Army Gen. Veljko Kadijevic stressed.

Secretariat Denies Raseta-Tus Meeting Report

LD1611212191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2040 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, Belgrade, November 16 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Defense Ministry announced on Saturday [16 November] night that no meeting took place on Friday [15 November] in Zagreb during cease-fire negotiations between Yugoslav Army General Andrija Raseta and chief of the Croatian Armed Forces, and formerly also Yugoslav army general, but whose commission had been taken away from him, Anton Tus.

Tus was commander of the Yugoslav Air Force and Anti-Aircraft Defense, but recently, on retiring, placed himself at the disposal of the Croatian Armed Forces.

As set out in the ministry announcement, "it follows that the meeting took place" between Gen. Raseta and Anton Tus in TANJUG's news item on Friday about the negotiations.

In the said item on Friday, TANJUG did not claim that Gen. Raseta and Anton Tus achieved direct contact, but "through the mediation of the representatives of the European Community monitor mission." TANJUG's Zagreb office on Saturday night confirmed that all those said in the Friday news item to have attended the negotiations were present as noted.

Army Officers Charged with Anti-JNA Activities

LD1511142891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1443 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Nov (TANJUG)—During military disciplinary proceedings, about 150 officers of various ranks of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA] have been held responsible for various forms of activity against the JNA, Colonel Milan Gvero, a representative of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, told TANJUG today.

Many of them have been stripped of their rank, and criminal proceedings are also being carried out against a large number of them, Gvero said.

He stressed that proceedures laid down in the law would be initiated against all members of the JNA for whom there is evidence that they committed acts against the armed forces.

Slovenia

Republic 'Disappointed' With EC, Sanctions

AU1711171791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] Slovenia is disappointed because the EC is imposing its so-called nonselective economic sanctions on this republic, too, even though, as stated, Slovenia received earlier guarantees that these sanctions would not be applied to Slovenia. Relja Atanasijevic reports:

[Begin Atanasijevic recording] Slovenia's disappointment with the EC is great, and [word indistinct] with reactions from statesmen and the media. In a commentary by the Ljubljana newspaper DELO, Slovenia's inclusion on the list of sanctions was called an example of Europe's hypocrisy. This was for two reasons. The first is that the foreign members of Western states have not fulfilled their promise that Slovenia would be excluded

from economic sanctions, and the second is that Slovenia is still looked upon as a part of Yugoslavia.

In an interview for the Austrian newspaper KLEINE ZEITUNG in Graz, Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency of Slovenia, presented the view that his republic has become a hostage to the inability of Europe to find a solution for all Yugoslav republics. He advocated that Western Europe recognize Slovenia as soon as possible. Kucan mentioned that this recognition is of vital importance for the economic survival of Slovenia. He explained that without international recognition, Slovenia would not be able to count on an inflow of foreign private capital because it would not have the status of [word indistinct] of international financial institutions. Without fresh capital, it is not possible to carry out property reform and even less the renovation of the economy.

Regarding the war in Croatia, Kucan said that a civil war is not being waged in that republic but a classic war between two states, Serbia and Croatia. The international community [words indistinct], which he does not understand. In his opinion, Serbia is endeavoring to occupy other people's territory, in which respect the federal Army is not in the least bit neutral.

The president of the Slovene Presidency said that no one will emerge from the Serbian-Croatian war a winner, and therefore the rivals must finally (?once again) go to a common negotiating table.

Kucan said in conclusion that his republic's most important economic partners, Italy, France, Germany, and Austria had promised to give Slovenia aid for it to survive economically until it is internationally recognized. According to reports by Slovene reporters in Bonn, Paris, and Vienna the EC will make a decision on the recognition of the independence of Slovenia and Croatia by 10 December at the latest. [end recording]

Republic Protests to Serbia Over Slovenes

LD1511225691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1859 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 15 Nov (TANJUG)—The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Slovenia has lodged a protest with the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Serbia about, as it says, "the inclusion of the citizens of Slovenia in the implementation of measures adopted by the organs of the Republic of Serbia and/or 'the rump SFRY Presidency.'"

According to available information, it is said in the protest, some 40 Slovenian citizens, most of them drivers, have recently been prevented from leaving the territory of Serbia on the pretext that they did not have adequate documents on army service. "Some of them succeeded in escaping through Hungary, while there is no news about the others," the protest says. At the same time it is emphasized "that any attempt to mobilize the citizens of Slovenia, who are in Serbia for business and other purposes, into the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], represents an illegal mobilization of foreign citizens and a crude violation of basic human rights."

The protest also states that "the confiscation of money, documents and goods from the Slovenian citizens at the crossing of the borders of the Republic of Serbia" are constant phenomena. The Republic of Slovenia, it is said further, has warned the international public about "this behavior on the part of the Republic of Serbia." The protest, which the Slovenian Foreign Ministry calls "a note," says that the Republic of Slovenia demands from the Republic of Serbia that "it immediately releases all citizens of Slovenia which it has forcibly mobilized, returns their property and behaves toward them in a civilized manner."

The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Slovenia considers that such cases could be solved more easily if the Republic of Serbia had a representative in Slovenia and if Slovenia had a representative in Serbia.

Croatia

'Chetniks' Violate Cease-Fire on Battlefields

LD1611184191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Report by Novska correspondent Zdravko Sever]

[Excerpt] The 13th absolute cease-fire is being violated by the Army of occupation and the Chetniks on the Novska battlefields. The time when arms were due to go silent—1700 GMT—has passed, but the enemy is attacking the Croatian Army from heavy artillery and all available weapons. The enemy has been attacking the area throughout the day. The Croatian Army responded to attacks with all means and forces and has the situation under control. Fierce clashes are unabating while we report this. The enemy has been attacking Popovac and Bajir strongholds of the Croatian Army with all available weapons, infantry, and air force. In those clashes, while the enemy suffered extensive losses, only one Croatian soldier was killed, one seriously and three lightly wounded. [passage omitted]

Split Naval District Command Rejects 'Propaganda'

LD1511235391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2123 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Split, Nov 15 (TANJUG)—The command of the naval district in the central Adriatic city of Split today accused the Croatian news media of "incessantly sending out new lies and of trying to spread untruths about an unprovoked attack by the Yugoslav Navy on the city of Split and islands of Solta and Brac."

A statement from the command today underscored that Croatian news media "completely avoided the incontestible facts that Ustasha formations were the first to open fire repeatedly on ships and facilities of the Yugoslav Navy."

The statement sets out that fire was opened from the area of the island of Solta on a Yugoslav Navy patrol boat on November 14 and that on this occasion the boat was damaged.

The same day, as the statement further sets out, the port of Lora (a port of the Yugoslav Navy in Split) was attacked from several positions around Split, as well as Yugoslav Navy Vessels and facilities of the military academies in Split.

"Units of the Yugoslav Navy neutralized the firing positions of the Ustasha coastal artillery on the islands of Solta and Brac and the peninsula of Marijan in the morning hours on November 15," the statement specified, adding that the Yugoslav Air Force was also engaged.

"The fabrications of the Ustasha propaganda and attempts to shift the responsiblity for the violation of the cease-fire on the Yugoslav People's Army, will not contribute to resolving the problem in Croatia and even in the specific case of the area of Split", the statement of the command of the naval district concludes.

Split Cease-Fire Agreement Signed 16 Nov

LD1611181991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Following today's negotiations between the Croatian Navy and the naval district command in the presence of EC observers at Split's Marjan Hotel, a cease-fire agreement was signed. Dragica Lenasic reporting:

[Lenasic] The agreement was signed by Major General Nikola Mladenic on behalf of the military authorities and by Croatian Navy Commander Admiral Svcto Letica on behalf of the Croatian side. The head of the EC regional observer mission informed the journalists about this. Both sides, the cease-fire agreement stipulates, agree that, during negotiations about the lifting of the blockade from military facilities and Adriatic ports, they will observe the absolute cease-fire due to come into effect today at 1700 GMT. The cease-fire will be observed on land between Ploce port and Trogir and on sea in waters around all islands between Lastovo and Losinj. Both sides have also agreed that all other issues discussed today will be reconsidered at the next meeting, due to take place 18 November. Following yesterday's unprovoked attack on Split, the Split-Brac sea area is free of enemy warships. However, the notorius destroyer Split received a direct hit, Admiral Sveto Letica told journalists:

[Begin Letica recording] Regarding a big frigate, unfortunately named Split, which had been patrolling the Split-Solta waterway for more than a month and which annoyed all citizens of Split—as well as other warships from the same naval unit—according to information I have, the Split destroyer is sinking in the Korcula channel. I am sad that it is not sinking here, but this is also good news. Another ship was damaged and one captured following activities in the wider Split area. [passage omitted]

I am telling those from the Yugonavy not to display their force and deploy threats and the like, not to enter these waters, because any forced entrance will be tantamount to a cease-fire violation. It is clear what we would then do. [end recording]

Reportage Continues on Fierce Fighting in Vukovar

Troops Offer To Surrender

LD1711130991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1248 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] Vukovar, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—A large group of the Croatian paramilitary formations asked at 1230 to surrender to JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] units, TANJUG has learned from sources close to the command of a unit which bears the brunt of fighting in Vukovar.

Offering to surrender, a representative of the Croatian forces asked for time for this to be done. But a (Army) captian with whom he spoke said that "there could be no calculations" and demanded "immediate and absolute surrender."

This captain told the representative of the Croatian forces that "they have no reason for fear, because they will be treated in accordance with international laws on POWs."

The surrender was proposed on the frontlines in the town center.

JNA units have been in control of a large part of the town since this morning. Fierce street fighting lasted in Vukovar until 1330.

JNA on Mopping-Up Operations

LD1711140991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1319 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] Vukovar, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—Units of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army (JNA) are mopping up the last strongholds of Croatian paramilitary formations in the center of Vukovar, a TANJUG reporter has learned from the Command of the Guard Brigade which is bearing the brunt of fighting in this town.

A large group of members of Croatian units positioned in the center of Vukovar have offered to surrender, but they

also demanded a period of time in which to do so. A JNA captain who received the offer demanded that they surrender unconditionally.

As we have learned from military sources, those who offered to surrender are members of the Ministry for Internal Affairs holding positions in the town center. Unlike them, guardsmen from the town center do not want to surrender and, according to reliable reports, are retreating toward the district of Mitnica in the south-eastern part of Vukovar where there are strong and solidly entrenched Croatian forces.

Following intercepted radio messages between groups of Croatian paramilitary formations, a JNA officer whose unit is taking part in the battle for Vukovar has told TANJUG that he believes chaos has gripped their ranks as there is no central command.

Croatian Radio, which is subjected to the Croatian president's decree on censorship, said in its 1300 bulletin that there were no reports from Vukovar. [Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1300 GMT on 17 November broadcast the following: "We have no fresh news from Vukovar. It is not known whether a humanitarian convoy organized by the International Red Cross Committee is heading toward the town. It was agreed yesterday at negotiations in Zagreb that a truck with medicines was due to leave Belgrade today at 1000 and to stop on the banks of the Danube, where the citizens of Vukovar would take medicines back to the town."]

Government Allows Talks With JNA

LD1711150891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] Dear listeners, the Informations Ministry has just issued a special statement:

The government of the Republic of Croatia held a session on 17 November and considered the current political and military situation after an agreement on the 13th absolute cease-fire was reached, and concluded that military operations aimed at capturing Vukovar and other areas in Croatia are contintinuing even after the agreement [was due to come into effect]. The Government was informed about a great danger threatening lives of more than 15,000 people, including 2,000 people under 16, in encricled and destroyed Vukovar, in which innocent civilians and children are still being killed.

Colonel General Antun Tus, chief of general staff of the Croatian Army, has reported that the other side is not observing the cease- fire agreement in the eastern Slavonia and Kordun regions. On the Vukovar-Vinkovci battlefield, it continued an offensive which was launched a few days ago, in which the entire Guard division and two brigades of the Novi Sad Corps are deployed, including 600 combat vehicles and numerous heavy artillery and rocket weapons. The enemy forces have been strenghtened with several brigades of the Serbian Territorial Defense and local Chetnik units. The overall enemy strength stands at 30,000 people. Weapons on ships on the Danube, Air Force, and arms positioned in Vojovdina are being deployed in the offensive.

Parts of the Tuzla Corps are launching a thrust in the direction of Zupanja. A large group of forces has stepped up its attacks on Vukovar and Borovo Naselje, and they have separated Croatian defenders, exhausted after the several-months long blockade and without necessary assistance. The Croatian forces are thus concentrating on defending the town center and the hospital.

Represntatives of the Croatian Government got in touch with the international monitoring mission and at the same time negotiated with Gen. Raseta for the JNA to immediately begin separating the forces and protect civilians from militant Chetniks and terrorists.

The Government of the Republic of Croatia authorizes its representative in Vukovar, Marin (?Bibic)—Bili—to negotiate with the JNA and all those who can prevent further sufferings in order to protect civilians.

The international community must play a part in the humantarian aspect of these actions. The government has informed Lord Carrington, the chariman on The Hague conference on Yugoslavia, UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, leading world statesmen, and politicans about the danger of barbaric crimes against the civillians.

Government Warns Kadijevic

LD1711151691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] The government of the Republic of Croatia demands from the Supreme Command of the armed forces, that is, General Veljko Kadijevic and Admiral Stane Brovet, that in line with the absolute cease-fire, all attacks end, specifically those on the civilian population in Vukovar. The Government requests that the Supreme Command form a buffer zone from the Chetnik forces so that the civilian population is saved and humanitarian actions may go ahead.

The government warns the Supreme Command of its responsibility for the lives of innocent civilians in Vukovar and of a danger that, if lives are not saved, no one would be able to guarantee the safety of officers and soldiers on the territory of the Republic of Croatia. A massacre of the Vukovar citizens would mark the beginning of chaos, whose end would be difficult to predict.

The government and citizens of the Republic of Croatia, as well as the Yugoslav Army and the international community, are dutybound to undertake every action in order to prevent a widescale catastrophe. The government of the Republic of Croatia calls on the citizens to join in the fight for the defense of the homeland.

Civilians' Protection Demanded

LD1711171291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 17 Nov 91

["Full text" of letter from Croatian Government to Supreme Command of SFRY Forces]

[Text] We demand that, in line with the absolute cease-fire agreement, you end all attacks, specifically heavy attacks on the civilians in Vukovar. If attacks on the civilian population of Vukovar do not end and if you do nothing to save their lives, the government of the Republic of Croatia will not agree to take part in any negotiations and it could not insure the safety of officers, soldiers, and their families in the Republic of Croatia.

You will bear reponsibility before the world public and history for the possible death of about 10,000 people, because a massacre of civilians in Vukovar and on other battlefields in Croatia would mark the beginning of general chaos with unforseeable consequences.

The government of the Republic of Croatia demands that you order your armed forces to observe the absolute cease-fire and that you create a buffer zone in Vukovar, so that the civilian population is protected and that humanitarian and other actions can go ahead.

The fate of the wounded and the civilians in Vukovar cannot be left to the mercy of Chetnik hordes by disavowing responsibility for their actions, because the whole world knows that they act as a part of your forces, that you armed them, and that you acted as one in crushing the heroic resistance of the Vukovar defenders. Hence, you are responsible for the fate of the civilian population, and for the fate of all citizens who will be killed if you allow a massacre of civilians to be carried out.

We demand that you allow European [Community] observers to come to Vukovar, insure their safety, and allow an immediate evacuation of wounded, women and children.

The government of the Republic of Croatia will inform the international public and all international institutions about the fact that following the latest cense-fire—forced upon us by the European Community—you have conquered and destroyed Slunj in offensive actions, and that, regardless of victims and price, you are trying not just to conquer Vukovar but to destroy it together with its population. Such actions are contrary to obligations toward the entire international community, and they are leading to catastrophe and a total civil war, which no one would be able to halt.

JNA To Suspend Operations

LD1611175691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1720 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Vukovar, Nov 16 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) units will suspend operations in the eastern Slavonian town of Vukovar at 1700 GMT today, in keeping with the reached cease-fire agreement, as TANJUG's reporter was told at the command of the JNA unit engaged in the fighting in Vukovar.

However, as the same federal Army source set out, should new attacks come from the Croatian side, the JNA will take counter-measures.

Representatives of the federal Army and the Croatian Armed Forces reached the 13th agreement on an absolute cease-fire in the Croatian capital of Zagreb late last night.

JNA units were today engaged in fierce clashes on the Hill Mitnica, east of Vukovar, which is held by Croatian para-military formations and police, as federal Army sources reported.

Croatian radio, which is subject to the censorship decree of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, carried no reports today about the situation on the Vukovar battle-front.

The fighting which started last night near the Croatian village of Nijemci, around 15 kilometers west of the Serbian town of Sid, has not stopped. Nijemci is held by Croatian para-military formations.

Army Issues Surrender Orders

LD1711171591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1633 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Vukovar, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—The leadership of the Yugoslav People's Army units that are taking part in battles in Vukovar this afternoon informed members of the Croatian paramilitary groups that if they intend to surrender they must move toward positions of the Sever [North] operations group, which is in control of Borovo Naselje.

The Army leadership decided to take that move, TANJUG has learned from Army sources, in order to separate those members of the Croatian forces wishing to surrender from those who refuse to do so.

"Directions for surrender" are being broadcast by powerful loudspeakers installed on an armored vehicle that is moving through the streets of Vukovar and that can be heard in the whole town. The directions are being repeated frequently. [passage omitted]

JNA Suspects Hostage Holding

LD1711182191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1734 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—The First Army District Command information office has been authorized to announce that the units of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], in cooperation with territorial defense units and volunteer units, have throughout the day been responding to armed provocations by Croatian armed

formations, thus thwarting their coordinated activities and capturing almost the entire town of Vukovar.

The remaining Croatian armed formations, primarily the HOS (Croatian Defense Force) and so-called black shirts, who have partially escaped the control of the leadership of the Republic of Croatia, are still holding some points in town. They have not been repsecting the latest cease-fire and are holding as hostages and under duress civilians, including children, women, and the infirm.

In their combat actions, members of the Croatian armed formations have committed serious crimes against, primarily, the Serbian population. The JNA has irrefutable evidence to prove this.

The JNA also has evidence that the chief of the General Staff of the Croatian army, despite a series of unsuccessful attempts at a breakthrough toward Vukovar along some fronts, kept ordering the armed formations in the town to continue combat actions even after the signing of numerous cease-fires. The Vukovar command was banned from negotiating with appropriate JNA commands and was ordered to liquidate those who were prepared to end armed actions.

Members of the JNA tried to avoid fierce combat actions in order to protect civilians. So far, a few thousand children, women, and other citizens have been saved. All those who are injured or ill received adequate medical care. Captured members of the armed formations of the Republic of Croatia are treated in accordance with international norms, despite the fact that extremist Croatian fighters have been very brutal toward a group of members of the Yugoslav People's Army, which they are currently using as a human shield.

The Yugoslav People's Army offered several times to secure the safe evacuation of all wounded, children, women, and civilians wishing to be evacuated. The JNA again expressed its readiness to do so today. Simultaneously, it offered to the European Community monitoring mission to send its representatives to the Vukovar area in order to gain direct insight into the situation.

Statement on Evacuation, Sanctions

LD1711225591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] In a statement this evening, the Croatian Government said that it had met again today to consider the situation in Vukovar. On the basis of talks with representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army conducted throughout the day, negotiations are to begin immediately about the evacuation from Vukovar of the injured and sick. The government has agreed that the evacuation be carried out in the presence of the EC observer mission and the International Committee of the Red Cross. Both these bodies have been informed about this. The negotiations must stipulate the exact time and the manner of transport. There is a proposal for evacuation to be carried out along the Vukovar-Bogdanovci-Nustar-Vinkovci direction.

In the light of the measures adopted at the extraordinary meeting of European ministers in Rome on 8 November 1991, the government heard a report by a working group which has analyzed their possible effects on the Croatian economy. The sanctions adopted in Rome are not selective, and will adversely affect Croatia. All relevant ministries and other economic entities in Croatia have been actively collecting data and conducting analyses in an effort to avert the negative effects of the sanctions.

Although the sanctions are expected to be discussed again at the next meeting of the EC ministerial council at the beginning of December, the Croatian government insists that necessary steps should be taken, bilateral talks conducted with some states, and all necessary data collected with the aim of adapting to the new situation which has seriously affected the Croatian economy despite the fact that Croatia is a victim of aggression and fulfills all the conditions stipulated by the EC ministerial council.

The government also discussed a number of defense issues, and formulated its stands on talks with the Bosnia-Hercegovina government concerning the prospects for improving transport links as well as on current financial issues.

Negotiations on Surrender Begin

LD1811100391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0914 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Vukovar, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—In Vukovar the unconditional surrender of Croatian forces in this town is being negotiated between representatives of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA] and Marin Vidic, the envoy of the Croatian Government, TANJUG has learned from military sources. The negotiations started at about 0800 GMT.

Envoy Marin Vidic is demanding that the surrender be carried out in the presence of representatives of the International Red Cross. The Army representatives taking part in the talks have no objections to such demands.

Military sources stress that the Croatian paramilitary formations in Vukovar must surrender with no conditions attached because they are in no position to demand anything more.

The talks started despite the fact that, as military sources put it, the Croatian paramilitary forces fired three grenades on a Velepromet warehouse on the main approach to Vukovar this morning at about 0630 GMT.

This warehouse has, for over a month, housed civilians saved by the Army from the cellars of buildings in Vukovar. One woman was injured in the attack.

Nationalists To Topple Tudjman If Vukovar Falls

AU1811115991 Paris AFP in English 1149 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, Yugoslavia, Nov 18 (AFP) — Rightist Croatian nationalists pledged Monday [18 November] to topple Croatian President Franjo Tudjman if he accepts the Serbian capture of Vukovar and said they were launching a counter-offensive to hold the city.

"If Vukovar falls, President Franjo Tudjman must fall too," said Dobroslav Paraga, leader of the Croatian Party of the Right (HSP), an extremist militia fighting in the republic's embattled eastern region of Slavonia. He told AFP that his group "has no intention to take violent action" against the president, but will "undo President Tudjman on the front by reorganizing the defense of eastern Slavonia".

He said the final combattants defending Vukovar from Serbian militiamen and the Serb-dominated federal Army were members of the armed wing of his movement, the HOS [Croatian Defense Forces], and that these fighters would not accept a government-negotiated surrender. "They are going to try and break out of Vukovar because there can be no question of surrender," he said. He also said an HOS squadron had been sent to the besieged Adriatic port of Dubrovnik.

Earlier Monday the official Yugoslav news agency TANJUG said a Croatian government official was mediating negotiations between the defenders of Vukovar, a strategic city on the Danube which has been under Army siege for nearly three months, and the Army.

Navy Denies Military Action at Dubrovnik

LD1711192791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1809 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] Herceg Novi, Trebinje, Nov 17 (TANJUG)—The command of the naval sector of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) "Boka" denied today's information of the Croatian radio that the JNA units in the area of Dubrovnik were taking actions against Croatian forces.

The command announced that there have been no conflicts around Dubrovnik all day yesterday and this morning and that the JNA was "strictly observing" the cease-fire agreement.

The Trebinje-based JNA operational group for Hercegovina today confirmed that the cease-fire was observed on the Dubrovnik-Hercegovina fronts.

In its announcement, the operational group, however, sets out that the movement of the Croatian armed forces in the valley of the Neretva river has been noticed and that the arming of members of the Croatian Democratic Union, the party which rallies Croats in the Hercegovina region, continues.

The operational group also announced that the Yugoslav Navy was "consistently implementing" the blockade of Dubrovnik despite the storms which are raging in the southern Adriatic.

The Yugoslav Navy allowed a ship with a UNICEF delegation on board to enter the Dubrovnik port last night, the announcement sets out. The delegation is headed by French Social Minister Bernard Coushner and includes Italian Immigration Minister Margherita Boniver and UNICEF's special emissary Stefan Demistura.

There was fighting during the night and this morning on the Dalmatia and Lika fronts, according to scant information from those parts. TANJUG's reporter says that the echoes of cannon grenades from the direction of Sinj in Dalmatia's hinterland were heard on several occasions even in Knin, the center of the 'Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina'.

War psychosis is on the rise again in the Zadar (Dalmatia) region, where the situation has been stable since the JNA units withdrew from the city. Croatian armed formations in Zadar have indicated that they would not permit lift-offs from the Yugoslav military airport 'Zemunik' since, as Croatian sources claim, negotiations that the JNA leaves this base are under way.

The commander of "Zemunik", however, said that "there have not been and there will not be any negotiations" and he firmly ruled out any possibility that the JNA will leave the airport.

The Yugoslav Defence Ministry announced today that it has not received a request of the Montenegrin government that the JNA leaves Dubrovnik as soon as the blockades are lifted off its barracks.

Negotiations between JNA representatives and Dubrovnik authorities on demarcation lines, the exchange of prisoners and other questions were not held today as was announced since the Dubrovnik delegation failed to show up, captain of a JNA warship Bozidar Celebic told the journalists.

Cease-Fire Violation Reported

LD1811115791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Report by Josko Jelavic from Dubrovnik]

[Excerpt] The enemy army is again violating the cease-fire in the Dubrovnik region. Judging by the force of the artillery attack which started just after 1000 in the Rijeka Dubrovacka area, all signs indicate that the army of occupation is not interested in negotiations. Stara Mokosica first came under fire from 120-mm mortars from enemy positions in the Pobrezje area, and then the fighting spread throughout the area all the way to the newly built Mokosica estate. In the first hour of this unprovoked artillery attack, more than 1,000 shells were fired.

Prior to this, machine-gun fire was opened on housing estates in the Rijeka Dubrovacka area.

The latest attack on the Rijeka Dubrovacka area and this most serious cease-fire violation since last Wednesday [13 November], is obviously synchronized with yesterday's raid on (?Komolac) carried out by the army of occupation, when the enemy army plundered, destroyed, and burned the village.

Due to the deliberate cease-fire violations by the army of occupation, the Italian ship "San Marco" has not yet docked in Gruz port. [passage omitted]

Residents of Dubrovnik Announce Republic Formation

AU1711213891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] While the leaders of Dubrovnik and extreme members of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] with the leadership of Croatia continue to work on breaking up the Yugoslav People's Army and Yugoslavia, residents of this commune are already organizing themselves, calling on their fellow citizens to proclaim Dubrovnik a republic.

In a statement to [POLITIKA] EKSPRES, we will read out a decree by the temporary government of the Republic of Dubrovnik that says: The Republic of Dubrovnik is being set up which is part of the Republic of Yugoslavia. The Republic of Dubrovnik continues the tradition of Dubrovnik, the republic that was outlawed in 1808. The Republic of Dubrovnik will be organized democratically. Citizens in it will be free with the sovereign rights of individuals.

'SAR Krajina' Leader Welcomes Peacekeeping Force

LD1611035891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1948 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Knin, November 15 (TANJUG)—The premier of the so-called Serbian Autonomous Region (SAR) Krajina, Milan Babic, today said that an engagement of a U.N. peacekeeping force would be "welcome only for the prevention of a Croatian aggression on the Serbian people and SAR Krajina."

Babic told a news conference he was expressing his personal view, while the stand of the government of SAR Krajina would be announced after its session on Saturday.

SAR Krajina is a region within the administrative borders of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia inhabited predominatly by Serbs. It declared independence last year, which was not recognized by the Croatian authorities.

The U.N. peacekeeping force should be deployed along the front line, on the Croatian side, Babic said.

He rejected any possibility of their deployment on the territory

SDS Urges Krajina's Babic To Resign

LD1511232691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1905 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 15 (TANJUG)—President of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Jovan Raskovic today said that the premier of the so called Serbian autonomous region Krajina, Milan Babic, should hand in his resignation "if he sets store by political reality."

Raskovic and another two founders of the SDS, Jovan Opacic and Dusan Zelenbaba, at a news conference accused babic of carrying out a coup within the party, at the time, and of establishing a Stalinist regime in Krajina.

Babic, as they put it, lusts for power and is inclined to despotism, corruption and unscrupulousness.

Accusations at the expense of Babic, leader of the Serbs in Croatia, were recently also set out by Krajina's Interior Minister Milan Martic.

Asked why they have come out with the demand for Babic's resignation only now, the SDS officials replied that he had "earlier enjoyed the support of the authorities in Serbia" and also, had their demand been voiced before, "it would have deteriorated the unity of the serbian people."

Opacic said that Babic wanted to disband the legally elected Krajina assembly, and Zelenbaba invoked "certain information" according to which Babic "found refuge in a certain part of the Titoist oriented Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), which is acting under the orders of the League of Communists—Movement for Yugoslavia."

Raskovic concluded that "the totalitarian Ustasha regime such as Tudjman's, cannot be opposed by another totalitarian communist regime such as Babic's."

Republic Stops Postal, Telegraph Services

LD1611173791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1542 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, Nov 16 (TANJUG)—The Croatian Postal and Telecommunications System (HTP) stopped receiving from and dispatching all mail and telegraph messages to all Yugoslav republics except for Slovenia.

According to the announcement carried by the Croatian press today, PTT communications with the Republics of Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro and Bosnia-Hercegovina were stopped because of "high risk".

The Croatian press says that the PTT communications were stopped after a "HPT truck carrying mail on the Zagreb-Belgrade-Zagreb route disappeared". It claims that the truck driver Marinko Brkljacic, disappeared together with the truck from the Belgrade post-office No. 2.

The Republic of Croatia broke off its telephone connections with Serbia a few days after it proclaimed its secession from Yugoslavia on October 7.

The Slovenian PTT today announced that it was receiving only ordinary letters and postcards from other republics.

This restriction does not apply to Croatia, from which it receives other mail as well, as long as its value does not exceed 500 Slovenian tolars (which would equal around 20 U.S. dollars).

The Slovenian PTT said that, due to the interruption of money transfers with Serbia, it would not pay out money orders from this republic, because they are not backed in Slovenia.

In accordance with valid international contracts, international remittances are delivered through the National Bank of Yugoslavia and are paid out at post-offices in dinars.

Slovenia, which proclaimed its secession from Yugoslavia on October 8, introduced its national currency, the tolar, in place of the Yugoslav currency dinar.

Serbia

Kosutic Expresses Optimism Over Carrington Mission

LD1511213691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1736 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 15 (TANJUG)—Deputy Prime Minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Budimir Kosutic today expressed certain optimism regarding the outcome of the latest peace mission of Lord Carrington, chairman of the Hague Conference on Yugoslavia.

"The latest talks give rise to hope that, in the resumption of the work of The Hague conference, international documents and the rules which the conference, itself, has defined will be respected and that Lord Carrington, as conference chairman, will make the greatest contribution to that," Kosutic told a news conference.

"We are now on the way of the work being unbiased and in line with the commitment to provide good offices and with the rules of the conference," Kosutic specified.

Asked [word indistinct] in connection with the possible deployment of U.N. peacekeeping forces—when would the federal Army withdraw from Croatia, Kosutic said that, before the Army's withdrawal could be discussed, the protection of every citizen against the monstrous actions of the Croatian authorities had to be ensured.

"I do not believe that the Serbian lands within the administrative borders of Croatia are part of any independent Croatian state, and, until it is ensured that the people there can live in freedon and peace, the withdrawal of the Army from those areas cannot be discussed," Kosutic stressed.

Kosutic acquainted newsmen with the position of the Serbian Government, which has assessed as positive the initiative of the Presidency of Yugoslavia for U.N. peacekeeping forces to be deployed to separate the terrorities populated by Serbs from the Croatian side.

When asked whether the invitation for the deployment of U.N. peacekeeping forces was a sign of weakness, Kosutic replied negatively and specified that what was involved was the wish of the Yugoslav Presidency for the crisis to be resolved by peaceful means and [word indistinct] with the protection of citizens against torture and new norms of genocide.

Kosutic expressed the view that the creation of a new world order was underway and that in that process neither rights nor justice were respected, but only interests. Kosutic said that Germany was seeking a special place for itself in that new world order, and specified that that was why a stable state in the Balkans did not suit it.

"That is why Germany calls for the deployment of European peace forces along adminisrative borders" in Yugoslavia, Dr. Kosutic said

Addressing the same news conference, official of the Serbian Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations Zoran Ilic said that the E.C. sanctions against Yugoslavia would negatively reflect also on the business circles of the E.C. member-countries, themselves, and in illustration offered data about Serbia's trade with the E.C. countries.

Serbia on the average exported one billion 150 million dollars worth of goods a year to the E.C. countries over the past ten years, and imported one billion 850 milion dollars worth of goods. In the past two years, the value of the exchange had abruptly increased.

Serbia concluded with E.C. countries 527 agreements on foreign investments, worth a total of 450 million marks, in the past year and a half. The foreign investments, which the E.C. had urged, will now practically come to halt as a result of the E.C. sanctions.

Serbia's hard-currency foreign debt stands at around 4.5 billion dollars, with the E.C. accounting for the bulk of the sum. The E.C. sanctions will place in question Serbia's ability to repay the debt, as Ilic set out.

Jovanovic Interviewed on Dubrovnik, UN Troops

LD1511124291 London BBC Television Network in English 2230 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Interview with Serbian Foreign Minister Vladko Jovanovic by correspondent Sue Cameron in London; from the "Newsnight" program—live]

[Text] [Cameron] Mr. Jovanovic, it seems tonight that everybody wants the UN troops in there [Dubrovnik], but you are not going to get them unless there is a cease-fire. As a first step to getting a cease-fire that would hold, shouldn't the federal troops pull out of Dubrovnik?

[Jovanovic] Of course, federal troops are ready to pull out of Dubrovnik and they have already made a proposal to the Croatian Government to pull out of Dubrovnik its own and foreign mercenaries, which will be consistent entirely in compliance with international convention from 1954 forbidding the foreign military presence in the cities which are under the protection of UNESCO. Foreign mercenaries are to be disarmed and sent to their embassy and go back to their countries.

[Cameron] Which foreign mercenaries do you mean? The ones in the federal Army?

[Jovanovic] Hundreds of foreign mercenaries concentrated in Dubrovnik including the old part of the city.

[Cameron] These are foreign mercenaries fighting on the side of the Croatians?

[Jovanovic] Of course. They are professional killers attacking the Army's position around the city.

[Cameron] But can I ask you, and what puzzles an awful lot of people in this country, is what on earth the Serbian dominated federal Army is doing in Dubrovnik in the first place?

[Jovanovic] First of all, the Serbian Army is not dominated by Serbs. It is a federal army, and Serbia does not have anything to do with that fight between Croatian and Federal Army. Serbia does not have any interest in Dubrovnik, and considers Dubrovnik a Croatian city. So, we are entirely outside of this scene. The federal Army has been attacked initially from the Croatian side, and after being pushed from the (Montenegran frontiers), the Croatian military forces, including mercenaries....

[Cameron, interrupting] But what are they doing there in the first place? You, yourself, have said there is no strategic importance to Dubrovnik. Why should the federal Army go anywhere near Dubrovnik?

[Jovanovic] They do not have any intention, as far as I know, to occupy or to stay in Dubrovnik. They only want Croatian military forces plus foreign mercenaries to leave Dubrovnik....

[Cameron, interrupting] Why should the Croatians leave?

[Jovanovic] From Dubrovnik they have bombarded and continued bombarding the position of the Army all around that area.

[Cameron] But if the army went away, they would not be doing that, would they? The Army, in the meantime, is destroying what many would see as one of Europe's architectural jewels.

[Jovanovic] There is no evidence that the whole city has been affected by any bombardment from the Army. It was widespread propaganda from Croatia, but the evidence found by the group of foreign military attaches and ambassadors they found no....

[Cameron, interrupting] So it is a worldwide conspiracy against the Serbs?

[Jovanovic] No. Not at all. It was just a worldwide Croatian propaganda insisting on something which did not exist, as a matter of fact. Of course, I am not popular of the Army, I do not defend it at all.

[Cameron] Would you personally appeal to the Army? If it is not, as you are suggesting, nothing to do with the Serbs, would you appeal, as Serbian foreign minister, for the federal Army to pull out of Dubrovnik now and give peace more of a chance?

[Jovanovic] The Serbian Government made that appeal much before the fighting for Dubrovnik started.

[Cameron] But you would endorse it now?

[Jovanovic] We made that appeal both to the Croatian Government and the federal Army, and we sent a copy to UNESCO, inviting all sides to withdraw from Dubrovnik and not to be engaged in any fighting for Dubrovnik. There are no responses to that, unfortunately.

Positively Assesses UK Talks

LD1511235691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2256 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 15 (TANJUG)—Foreign Minister of Serbia Vladislav Jovanovic tonight said that British official circles view the idea on sending a U.N. peacekeeping force to Yugoslavia as "a timely initiative which fits well into the general interests and efforts for a cease-fire" in the country.

Upon his return from a two-day visit to Great Britain, Jovanovic assessed that "Britain's stressed interest for the idea to send a peacekeeping force is shared by other countries around the world."

Jovanovic said that the initiative for sending the "Blue Helmets" to Yugoslavia "at the same time gives prospects to The Hague conference on Yugoslavia not only to resume work soon but also to achieve essential progress towards a final positive outcome in a new phase."

Jovanovic in London had talks with British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd, members of parliament and other figures.

Concerning estimates that the debate in the U.N. Security Council could result in confrontations of between the "Anglo-Saxon" and "Germanic" conceptions for settling the Yugoslav drama, Jovanovic said that "Great Britain, compared to the latter, had a more positive stand even in terms of quality...."

Britain "was able to maintain such a stand in the most difficult times and in moments of huge pressure from Germany on its partners to yield to its concept of the settlement... by emergency procedure, with a diktat and imposing conditions..." the Serbian foreign minister said.

VMDK Protests Drafting of Ethnic Hungarians

AU1511113291 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 12 Nov 91 p 2

[Report by Imre Sebestyen: "20,000 Hungarians Have Left Yugoslavia"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMDK] has made an appeal to the Serbian parliament: Following the examples of Albanians in Kosovo and Muslims in Serbia, Hungarians in Vojvodina should not be mobilized, and those already on the front should be sent home. Will this appeal have any effect? The VMDK communique states that with their spontaneous move, Hungarians in Vojvodina have condemned the civil war.

Feeling threatened, more than 20,000 Hungarians have left Yugoslavia as a result of the forced mobilization and the propaganda war. It is therefore indispensable for the House of Representatives to officially call upon them to return. The House of Representatives must also guarantee that those who fled because of their military call-up will not be called to account. In this way, the Serbian parliament could circumvent the responsibility that it bears for having changed the ethnic composition of Hungarian settlements in Vojvodina. Even the United Nations' documents condemn this.

The VMDK's communique also mentions that citizens from many other national groups took part in the political antiwar movements. Consequently, the VMDK believes that it would be constructive to organize a referendum and ask citizens whether they think that war is the only way to solve these historical contradictions and the dilemmas linked to the situation of the Serbian nation in Yugoslavia. The VMDK asks parliament to initiate a debate on this proposal, and to make an appropriate decision. [passage omitted]

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Cengic Rebuts Reportage on Trip to Turkey

AU1811085691 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Interview with Muhamed Cengic, vice president of the government of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Predrag Smoljan; place not given—live]

[Excerpts] [Smoljan] Mr. Cengic, good evening and welcome.

[Cengic] Good evening. It is good to be here.

[Smoljan] The reason for your participation in the program is your visit to Turkey, or to be more precise, the inaccuracies and ambiguities in the writings of TANJUG, whose reports we also carried yesterday. You now have an opportunity to say what this is all about.

[Cengic] I am very sorry that a report was carried on Radio Sarajevo at 1500 and 1800 GMT that disparaged my visit to the Republic of Turkey. Instead of you carrying a report on why I went to Turkey and what I did there and what I accomplished there, you carried a report that came via TANJUG from our correspondent who is unfortunately from Sarajevo, as I heard, which is totally untrue. This was not only an untrue but a false report that was sent to Radio Sarajevo.

The very fact that the report says that Muslims will drown in the lake of Christianity if Yugoslavia breaks up is totally untrue because I did not say one single word about that. Nor do I think that. If Yugoslavia does fall apart, Muslims will not sink or drown, as the report says, Bosnia will remain as it is.

I must also say that I did not mention Germany at all, nor its pretensions toward Slovenia and Croatia. Neither do I think that the people believe that a civil war has happened between Croats and Serbs because of Germany. The people of Bosnia-Hercegovina also. [Cengic changes thought] This is also incorrect. However, I received assurances from a spokesman of the Republic of Turkey that if the city of Sarajevo is destroyed, as the city of Dubrovnik is being destroyed, Turkey will not on any account allow what has been constructed over centuries in this area to be destroyed.

I did have talks with Mr. Suleyman Demirel, who becomes the president of the government of the Turkish Republic today. I had talks about several things. One of these was the aid that is now essential to us, on the eve of the EC embargo. Under this embargo, Bosnia-Hercegovina will be faced with the fact that we will not be able to receive oil from any country regardless of whether we have money or not, no one will dare or want to sent it to us.

Therefore, I asked them to send us a certain quantity of oil. We are in extreme need of it for the fall sowing. We need it for heating in hospitals, schools, or institutions. We need it for train engines in steel mills, in Zenica, and in mines, because there is a large number of digging machinery in mines. However, this visit has begun to be interpreted in a different way here in Bosnia, actually by those people who do not wish either Bosnia nor their people nor any other people well.

I am therefore surprised by yesterday's report on Sarajevo Radio, that is to say the news on Radio Sarajevo that was totally untrue. This was also the case the day

before yesterday when it was written in OSLOBODJENJE that Muhamed Cengic was on a private visit to Turkey with his wife and daughter. The proof that this was wrong is the fact that I do not have a daughter, because I have sons and not daughters. This is the greatest proof that it is a lie. Therefore, yesterday's news was just as incorrect.

It was also said yesterday that I asked more for political rather than financial aid. I asked for political help in the sense that Turkey should advocate at the EC and NATO not to put a blockade on us, because a blockade will hit us in terms of oil, coal for coking, and it will hit us in terms of our products for which we have a privileged position in the EC. I think that I did a great thing for Bosnia-Hercegovina. I did not at that time mention one people, that I am only doing this for Muslims or Serbs or Croats, but I said for the citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This is actually how the Turks understood this and this is the way they gave us aid.

In Turkey I organized it so that Turkey would tomorrow send us $5 million worth of medicines. I did not ask whether these medicines would be for Muslims or whether they would be for Serbs or Croats. They will be for the sick and the Turks also said that they are sending humanitarian aid to the Bosnian people, and they did not ask whether it would be used for only Muslims, Serbs, or Croats. They warned me on regarding oil that they will not give oil if this oil is used for war purposes.

I therefore had to give a guarantee that we will control the use of oil, that it will be used for those purposes for which I asked for this oil.

They are also prepared to give us aid in food. However, in the situation in which Bosnia-Hercegovina is under a blockade, I think that we do not need this food now because we have enough wheat, we have enough foodstuffs for now, which does not mean that we will have this after new year's, in February, or March. I agreed with the gentlemen from the Turkey that they will actually give us aid when we ask for it and when it is necessary. [passage omitted]

The vice president of the government told me that he is ready to give about $35 million and perhaps $50 million in loans to Bosnia-Hercegovina. In the talks with Mr. Demirel, he also said that he would accept and support everything that the old government had promised. Because as you know there is a new government in Turkey after today. [passage omitted]

Government Plans Measures To Improve Neum Forces

LD1611231191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1343 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 16 Nov (TANJUG)—As the Information Ministry announced today, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government considered topical questions on caring for some 75,000 refugees in 106 of 109 municipalities of this republic, as well as the report by its working group on the Neum municipality situation.

It was noted that the problem of refugees is a social phenomenon with long-term consequences in the solution of which it is necessary to include the whole country and the international community. [passage omitted]

The Bosnia-Hercegovina Government, on the basis of the report by its special group, noted that the Neum municipality situation is very complex and that there is direct danger for Bosnia-Hercegovina to be dragged into the war through this municipality. Therefore, it was decided to undertake immediate measures to increase the active composition of the militia in Neum municipality and to improve their equipment. The announcement states that the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government has adopted the report by its working group which says that there are no armed forces of the Republic of Croatia in Neum municipality. The government has decided to establish immediate contact with the representatives of the military commands concerned to reach an agreement on how to ensure the necessary conditions for the return of people who have been expelled from villages in the Trebinje and Neum municipalities, as well as their personal and material security, the announcement says.

Tuzla Sector Reservists Called to Barracks

LD1511190491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1510 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Tuzla, 15 Nov (TANJUG)—The Tuzla military sector has called on all reservists to report to the Husinska Buna Barracks in Tuzla immediately. The sector issued the call via Radio Tuzla.

All patriotic and Yugoslav-orientated citizens of Tuzla, Zivinice, Lukavac, Srebrenik, Banovci, Vlasenica, Kladanj, Kalesija, Lopare, Gracanica, Ugljevik, Zvornik, Bratunac, and Srebrenica who do not hold a wartime position in the armed forces, as well as Army reservists from Tuzla military unit 4410, should report to the military authorities.

It was also announced that reservists who need to travel abroad for personal or official reasons must seek permission from the Tuzla military sector.

Montenegro

Titograd Command Calls on Reservists To Report

LD1611140591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1329 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Titograd, 16 Nov (TANJUG)—The Titograd Corps Command today called on all those reservists who for whatever reason have not yet reported to their combat units to do so without fail. Soldiers and reserve officers, it states, must report to their garrisons and barracks by 0800 (0700 GMT) 18 November.

"Your comrades who have been on the frontline from the outset expect you to join them in their struggle against fascism," the Information Service of the Titograd Corps Command says in its announcement.

The call-up is addressed to the reservists of the following wartime units: 5874/1-6, 3582/1-38/, 3909/1-7/, 3728/1-14, 25-48, 56-78, and 2277/1-52/.

"All those who do not heed this call-up notice will be forcibly taken to their combat units and will have criminal charges brought against them for dodging their military duty," the statement of the Information Service of the Titograd Corps Command says in conclusion.

Titograd Alters Guidelines on Foreign Travel

LD1511214391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1714 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Titograd, 15 Nov (TANJUG)—The Titograd Corps Command has announced that it will no longer issue permission slips sanctioning private visits to foreign countries because, it explains, its decisions are in line with those of the SFRY Presidency. Reservists will be given permission for official trips abroad according to the needs of combat units and only if their firms have submitted a demand, signed by a director, to this effect. [passage omitted]

Macedonia

Assembly Session Adopts New Constitution 17 Nov

LD1811122491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1050 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Skopje, November 18 (TANJUG)—The parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia late last night adopted a new constitution, which defines the republic as an independent, democratic and welfare state of equal citizens.

The constitution was adopted by 96 of the 120 deputies, thus fulfilling the necessary condition that the act be adopted by a two-third majority.

Most deputies of ethnic Albanian parties did not vote for the constitution as well as several deputies of the majority party in parliament VMRO-DPMNE [Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity-Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization].

The parliament also adopted a constitutional law under which the republic's interests abroad will be represented by the diplomatic and consular offices of Yugoslavia until Macedonian ones are set up, which will be done in keeping with an agreement on the organization of a future Yugoslav state.

The Macedonian public sees the new constitution as the final act in the recognition of the Macedonian state and the process of introduction of a multi-party system. It is also seen as the realization of the will of its citizens for an independent and sovereign state which they voted for at a referendum on September 8.

The adoption of the new constitution and constitutional law represents the end of a long and heated parliamentary debate which began some ten days ago and was interrupted a number of times by party polemics about the constitutional acts, particularly the one which defines the republic of Macedonia in the new constitution.

The date of the formal promulgation of the new Macedonian constitutional has not yet been set.

Party Rifts Emerge

AU1811170691 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Report by Boris Djordjioski]

[Text] Macedonia last night acquired a civil [gradjanski] and not a national Constitution, and this highest state document defines it as an independent, sovereign, democratic, and welfare state of equal citizens.

The deputies of the Albanian Party of Democratic Prosperity [PDP] did not vote in favor of this kind of constitution, and the deputies of the Albanian Peoples Democratic Party did not even want to attend the voting.

Three of the 37 deputies of the Macedonian national VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] voted against, and they included the vice president of the Assembly and the leader of the party caucus, which obviously bears witness to an increasingly certain rift in this party.

Regarding the deputies of the Albanian PDP, we have learned that there was an order from the party not to vote for the new republican Constitution. The leadership's stand was faithfully respected but certain Albanian deputies publicly expressed differing views.

The general conclusion in Skopje today is that the national parties lost and civil democracy won. The constitutional law states that all federal regulations and acts are no longer valid valid if they are not at variance with republican interests. [sentence as heard]

Within a period of six months, republican laws will be adopted on national defense, citizenship, travel documentation, and state symbols. The timing of independence and the way that it is carried out—by remaining in the Yugoslav community or not—will depend on the outcome of the peace conference and the Hague negotiations. Until then, the Yugoslav diplomatic service and foreign policy will remain; membership in the federal Presidency will not cease, and relations with the Yugoslav People's Army will be determined as has been the case until now, through joint agreements, since the

people of Macedonia have voted in a referendum for a sovereign and independent state with the right to form an association with an alliance of sovereign Yugoslav states.

The constitutional law states that if an agreement is not reached on this kind of alliance, Macedonia will consider itself to be the equal heir to the rights and obligations acquired in the Yugoslav community and, as an independent and autonomous state, it will regulate its relations on the international scene in line with international regulations, more precisely, the Vienna Conventions of 1978 and 1982.

Federal Chamber Delegates Explain Absence

LD1511195991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1044 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Nov (TANJUG)—The Macedonian delegates to the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly will not take part in today's work of the federal parliament at which the SFRY Presidency will inform delegates about measures to resolve the Yugoslav state and political crisis. This decision is contained in a letter which the Macedonian delegates sent to the federal parliament today.

They explain their absence from the session by the fact that they disagree "with the report and appearance at the session of the four-member illegitimate SFRY Presidency," whereby another attempt is being made, it is said, this time via the SFRY Assembly, to legalize and legitimize its concept of policy and method of work.

We are prepared to take part in the work of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly under the conditions laid down by the SFRY Constitution and the standing orders on the work of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, the letter of the Macedonian delegates says.